The Social Contract

Vol. XI, No. 3 Spring 2001

Highlights

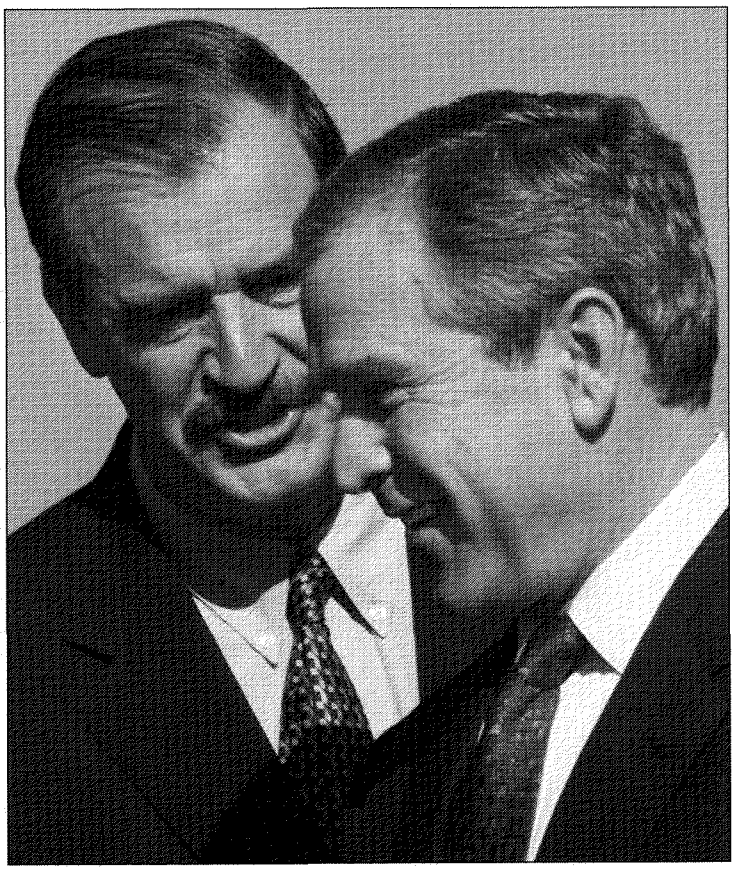
How much does the growth of minorities through mass immigration influence national politics? The 2000 presidential election is reviewed by: David Simcox, Samuel Francis, Miles Wolpin, E. Christian Kopff, Craig Nelsen, and William R. Catton, Jr.

A discussion of population and the environment given by Jack Parsons at the Council of Europe's Interparliamentary Conference on Demographic Change and Sustainable Development.

Faith communities promote open borders on the basis of Bible texts. Edwin Childress believes the term 'sojourner' is misused.

New books are reviewed by John Attarian, Kevin Lamb, Wayne Lutton and Brenda Walker.

George W. Bush, Last Republican President? And Does It Matter?



President George W. Bush meets with Mexico's President Fox.
© 2001 AP/World Wide Photo

John Tanton on hoof-and-mouth disease and the danger of 'open borders.' See page 203.

U.S. $7.50 • ISSN 1055-145X Visit us at **www.thesocialcontract.com**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, The Social Contract *journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:*

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations. What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

The Social Contract *explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. XI, No. 3 Spring 2001

Contents

159 **A Note from the Editor**

159 **Letters to the Editor**

160 **Bulletin Board**

161 **The Hispanic Giant: Numbers, Yes — Power, No**
by David Simcox

166 **Ethnopolitics: Ethnic and Racial Implications of the 2000 Elections**
by Samuel Francis

175 **Republican Immigration Policy and Election Prospects**
by Miles D. Wolpin

178 **Election of 2000 Shows New Political Fault Lines**
by E. Christian Kopff

180 **Education on Wheels: How a Mobile Billboard Opens Discussion About Immigration Policy**
by Craig Nelsen

183 **The Midas Century: Ready Or Not, Its Time Will Come**
by William R. Catton, Jr.

188 **Earth Day 2001: The Forces That Drive This World**
by Mark Wegierski

190 **Environment and Population: Perspectives**
by Jack Parsons

198 **Cultural Pressures Undoing Our Unity**
by Paul Craig Roberts

200 **Maybe Mexico Should Try Open Borders First**
by Ric Oberlink

201 **European Community Struggles with Migrants**
by William B. Dickinson

203 **Hoof-and-Mouth Disease: A Border Control Issue**
by John H. Tanton

205 **School Overcrowding: No One Mentions Immigration As the Culprit**
by Linda Thom

206 **The 'Sojourner' Argument**
by Edwin Childress

Book Reviews

210 Kevin Lamb reviews *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* by Donald Horowitz.

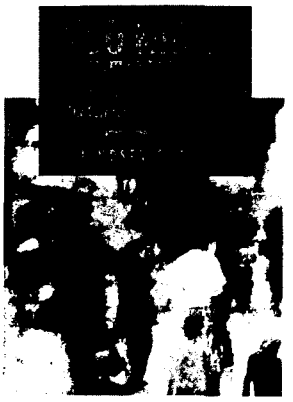
213 John Attarian reviews *NAFTA, Washington, and the Subversion of American Democracy* by John R. MacArthur.

215 Wayne Lutton reviews *Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States* by Ko-lin Chin.

218 Brenda Walker reviews *Banker to the Poor* by Muhammad Yunus.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published four times a year by The Social Contract Press, 445 East Mitchell Street, Petoskey, MI 49770-2623. Phone (231) 347-1171, Fax (231) 347-1185. Send mail correspondence and address corrections to address above, or e-mail to info@thesocialcontract.com. See our World Wide Web page at www.thesocialcontract.com. To order subscriptions or books call toll free: 1-800-352-4843. Third class postage paid at Petoskey, Michigan. *Copyright © 2001.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



In *Too Many People*, Lindsey Grant makes the unassailable point that perpetual material growth on Earth is a mathematical absurdity. Politicians, planners and environmentalists usually treat population growth as an independent variable to which they must adjust, rather than as a factor that must be changed if a real solution to their problem is to be found. Grant turns the problem around and asks: what population size is compatible with the achievement of our goals? And he suggests how we can get there.

Too Many People

The Case for Reversing Growth

by Lindsey Grant

Seven Locks Press
102 pages
$7.95 (softcover)

Order from
THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS

1.800.352.4843

or through our online bookstore:
www.thesocialcontract.com

PUBLISHER
John H. Tanton
Petoskey, Michigan

EDITOR
Wayne Lutton
Petoskey, Michigan

MANAGING EDITOR
Robert Kyser
Alanson, Michigan

WASHINGTON EDITOR
Roy Beck
Arlington, Virginia

Washington Office
1601 N. Kent St., #1100
Arlington, VA 22209
phone: 703-816-8820
fax: 703-816-8824

International Correspondents

Wolfgang Bosswick
Nürnberg, Germany

Denis McCormack
North Fitzroy, Victoria
Australia

Editorial Advisory Board

Sharon Barnes
Brooklyn, New York

Viktor Foerster
Nürnberg, Germany

Katharine Betts
Mt. Waverly, Victoria, Australia

Hugh Graham
Santa Barbara, California

Gerda Bikales
McLean, Virginia

Otis L. Graham, Jr.
Wilmington, North Carolina

Leon Bouvier
Norfolk, Virginia

Ira Mehlman
Los Angeles, California

Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.
Ithaca, New York

David Simcox
Louisville, Kentucky

Dan Stein
Washington, DC

The Social Contract
is published quarterly.

© 2001 by The Social Contract Press

Editorial and subscription offices:
445 E. Mitchell Street, Petoskey, MI 49770-2623
phone: (231) 347-1171; fax: (231) 347-1185
e-mail: info@thesocialcontract.com
web page: www.thesocialcontract.com
archives: www.thesocialcontract.com/archives

Third Class postage is paid at Petoskey, Michigan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Note from the Editor *Does the GOP Have a Death Wish?*

We recently posed a question to our contributors: Might George W. Bush be the last Republican president? And if he were, would it really matter to those of us interested in reforming immigration, environmental, and economic policies? In this issue, we include responses from David Simcox, Samuel Francis, E. Christian Kopff, Miles Wolpin, and William Catton.

Among those most likely to vote Republican, immigration reform is highly popular. So is environmental protection to as many as 92.8% of probable Republican primary voters, according to a 1999 Zogby International poll. And there is a too often obscured or unspoken immigration dimension to the "family values" issues that concern 93.4% of Republican voters. Current immigration policies contribute to increased poverty, crime, drug use, out-of-wedlock births [the National Center for Health Statistics reported on 17 April 2001, that unwed birth rates were twice as high for Hispanics as for non-Hispanic whites, at 42.2% to 22.1%; the black unwed birth rates remain the highest, at 69.1%, poor schools, etc.

Since well before the turn of the last century, the Democratic Party has depended on a (sometimes uneasy) coalition of labor, non-white, and new immigrant voters for their electoral success. As Samuel Lubell pointed out in his study, *The Future of American Politics*, a "cultural chasm" developed between the two major political parties, with the Republicans being more "sensitive to the aspirations of the 'old' immigrant elements." Lubell went on to note that the "new" immigrants and their descendants formed the core of support for Roosevelt's New Deal. The portion of the white vote Democrats hold today largely descends from this element. Had immigration patterns not shifted by the turn of the last century, the Republicans might well have remained the majority party, virtually without interruption, from the end of the Civil War on.

If Republican "leaders" fail to champion the collection of popular immigration-related issues that could increase their success in the voting booths, they will deserve the political extinction they have courted. New vehicles for public policy change will have to be created by those concerned about our future.

WAYNE LUTTON, Ph.D.

Letters to the Editor

EDITOR:

In regards to your recent issue on changing British culture, changing American culture, and Canada (*The Social Contract,* Vol. XI, No. 2, Winter 2001), in the Jan./Feb. 2001 issue of *Popline*, published by the Population Institute, was an article on female genital mutilation (FGM). The article stated that Britain has "300,000 female immigrants from cultures that practice FGM, the largest number of any country in the European Union." Incredulously, the article also states that Europe is not in the "business of preaching and imposing its culture on other countries" ("EU Commissioner lashes out against genital mutilation" p. 4).

One of the themes of your Winter 2001 issue was an obligation to speak out against the importation of cultural values inconsistent with those of your nation. Judging other cultures is a fundamental right of any other nation or culture and its citizens. And despite the multiculturalist zealots, to speak out is more than appropriate; it is almost mandatory.

Even if said inadvertently, it's nice to hear an acknowledgment of a European culture — and by implication an American culture. It's sad, however, that *Popline* would not offer an obvious solution to these unnecessary cultural wars: implement a more selective immigration policy or, the best solution, eliminate immigration, including the much-abused refugee programs. Hail Britannia!

DELL ERICKSON
Minneapolis, Minnesota

EDITOR:

Relax with the "invasion" mumbo jumbo (*The Social Contract*, Vol. XI, No. 1, Fall 2000). You guys need to loosen up a little. You should be glad that good-looking guys like myself are in this country. The reason that so many people are in this country illegally is because white people keep giving them jobs. Do you really believe that the waves of poor people crossing the border are thinking of taking back Aztlan? Duh! They're here to make a couple of bucks and they are hired because white criminals want to pay them less than minimum wage as well as cheat on their taxes.

HECTOR "THE INVADER" AVITIA
UCLA.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal now has a research site by which all the articles published in previous issues of the journal are available at <www.thesocialcontract.com>.

Below are some additional sites that readers may find of interest. Listing them here does not imply that *The Social Contract* endorses the material on any specific site.

- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR): www.fairus.org.
- Immigration by the Numbers: www.numbersusa.com.
- ProEnglish: www.proenglish.org.
- A new voice for population/environment issues: www.sprawlcity.org.
- Center for Immigration Studies: www.cis.org.
- Affirmative Action for Immigrants: www.pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb.
- Comments from Peter Brimelow, Joseph Fallon and others: www.vdare.com.
- News and commentary on ethnic and other conflicts worldwide: www.antiwar.com.
- Carrying Capacity Network: www.carryingcapacity.org.
- Negative Population Growth: www.npg.org.
- California Coalition for Immigration Reform: www.ccir.net.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News:* www.migration.ucdavis.edu.
- Professor Norman Matloff:: www.heather.cs.ucdavis.edu /pub/Immigration/Index.html.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration: www.enteract.com/~mcri97.
- Sierrans for US Population Stabilization: www.susps.org.
- A parody site: www.sierraclubbed.com.
- *People and Place* is published in Australia by the Centre for Population and Urban Research: www.elecpress.monash.edu.au/pnp.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee: www.canadafirst.net.
- Voices of Citizens Together: www.americanpatrol.com.
- Council of Conservative Citizens: www.cofcc.org.
- Columnist Samuel Francis: www.samfrancis.net.
- The Biocentric Institute: www.iapm.org/biocenter.html.
- Stalking the Wild Taboo: www.lrainc.com/swtaboo/.
- ProjectUSA: www.projectusa.org.
- The European Forum for Migration Studies: www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/home.html.
- Floridians for a Sustainable Population: www.flsuspop.org/index.htm.
- Population and Sustainability: www.ecofuture.org/ecofuture/populat.html.
- American Renaissance: www.amren.com.
- *Mankind Quarterly:* www.mankind.org.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law): http://www.fedpub.com/fedpub/immigrat.htm.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- Center for Immigration Studies (CIS): center@cis.org.
- Negative Population Growth: npg@npg.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: ccn@igc.apc.org.
- Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS): caps@cap-s.org.
- Conservative News Links: newsclips-subscribe@egroups.com.

And from the perspective of the opposition and their stand for open borders:

- The American Immigration Lawyers Association: www.aila.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Hispanic Giant

Numbers? Yes. Power? Not yet

by David Simcox

Was the Republican National Committee whistling past the graveyard with its January announcement that a recently completed survey showed the Republican Party has a future with the nation's Hispanics? Party spinmeisters claimed the survey showed that 38 percent of all Hispanics had voted for Bush in November and 50 percent of all respondents said they would vote for him in 2004 "if he showed concern for Hispanics during his first administration."[1] There is no arguing that Bush lost decisively to Gore among Latinos. Only when contrasted to his paltry nine percent of the African-American vote does Bush's 38 percent national showing among Hispanic voters seem almost impressive. The unforgiving facts are that Bush lost the Hispanic vote in all but one heavily Hispanic state — Florida — and the best he could get there was a virtual tie. His margin of defeat among Hispanic voters in California, the premier Hispanic state where fourteen percent of all voters are Latino, was 68 percent to 29 percent. In New York state, Bush made his worst showing, with 80 percent of Hispanics voting for Gore. In Arizona, New Mexico and New Jersey, he was limited to about a third or less of the Hispanic vote. Bush's performance in Texas was his best outside of Florida: There he won 43 percent of Hispanic voters.

Combining these weak showings with the prospect that the number of Hispanic voters in states rich in electoral votes such as California and Texas will swell to near majority status within two decades stokes fear that the GOP may have won its last presidential election. Such a gloomy prospect, however, overlooks some of the imponderables of the demography, ideology, and voting eligibility and voting propensities of the Hispanic population now and in the future.

Table 1. 2000 Presidential Election
Share of Hispanic Vote by Candidate/State; Hispanic Share of State and National Vote

	USA	CA	TX	NY	FL	AZ	NJ
% Gore	62%	68%	54%	80%	48%	65%	58%
% Bush	35%	29%	43%	18%	49%	34%	35%
Hispanic % of Vote	7%	14%	10%	8%	11%	10%	5%

Source: Voter News Service Exit Polls

Latinos Generally, But Not Unalterably, Support the Democrats

Worth noting at the outset is that the Hispanic preference for the Democrats has long been the rule — with occasional exceptions when hugely popular Republicans, such as Ronald Reagan capture their allegiance. Latinos' heavy preference for Democrats surged in the 1960s and 1970s with the rise of the Chicano movement. John Kennedy's defeat of Nixon in 1960 drew in part from successful Democratic

David Simcox *is chair of the Policy Board of the Washington-based Center for Immigration Studies, and director of Migration Demographics, a research organization.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mobilization.[2] Plainly, preference for the Democrats was a fact well before Proposition 187 and other immigration, affirmative action, and language issues commencing in 1994, rather than a product of them .

Bush's 38 percent in 2000 was a far greater share of Hispanic votes than any Republican presidential candidate has won since Ronald Reagan. He surpassed Republican candidate Bob Dole's Hispanic vote in 1996 by 80 percent. In 1992, before Proposition 187, Bush's father polled only 27 percent among California Hispanics to Bill Clinton's 51 percent. In 1990 in California, Gubernatorial candidate Pete Wilson was considered a virtual victor for attracting 45 percent of the Hispanic vote. Latino loyalty to the Democrats is strong and often trumps even ethnic identity. The increasing number of Hispanic Republican candidates for house seats in Latino majority districts have generally not polled well against Hispanic democrats. In Los Angeles and New York, however, Republican Mayors Richard Riordan and Rudy Giuliani won the Hispanic vote. Latinos' adhesion to the Democrats, though formidable, does not approach the monolithic loyalty of African-Americans to that party.

Table 2. Hispanic Registration and Voting in Presidential Elections (in millions)

Year	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000
Registered	2.98	3.79	4.57	5.14	6.57	7.6*
Voted	2.45	3.09	3.71	4.24	4.93	7.35**
% of US Vote	2.8%	3.3%	4.0%	4.7%	5.1%	7.0%**

Sources: Federal Elections Commission, Census and Velazquez Institute
* Estimate of Velazquez Institute ** Based on Voter News Service Exit Polls

Stunning Increase in Hispanic Voters in 2000: Where Did It Come From?

Heightening the damage to the GOP in the 2000 elections was the far larger than expected turnout of Hispanic voters. Hispanic think tanks such as the Tomas Rivera Foundation, the Velazquez Institute, and the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project had projected a total Latino turnout of 5.5 million to 5.7 million, based on an estimated total Hispanic registration of 7.6 million.[3]

But if exit polls are to be believed, Hispanics actually cast some 7.3 million votes — 28 percent more than even the optimists had predicted. Clearly, the Latino advocacies' estimate of 7.6 million registered voters was way too low for 2000. Assuming a) the Hispanic percentage of registered voters actually going to the polls was 80 percent (their historical average for presidential elections since 1984) and b) that Hispanic voters were in fact generally required to establish their registration in order to vote, the number of Hispanic registered voters would be about 9.2 million, not 7.6 million.

The explosive growth in the known Hispanic population makes us wonder what the Census Bureau has been doing and thinking since 1990? Astoundingly, Census' experts released a report in early March 2001 based on the "Current Population Survey" a year earlier estimating the Hispanic population at 32.5 million, some 2.8 million less than its decennial count would show a few days later.[4] And indications are that even the lofty new figure of 35.3 million may be a significant undercount. There has long been an element of denial in Census estimates of net immigration, perhaps in part out of fear of alarming the public.

Now Census has just told us that the Hispanic population has actually grown by 57 percent, from 22.4 million to at least 35.3 million (even then, some undercounting is likely) between 1990 and 2000. Census' ineffectual monitoring of Latinos' and the nation's population growth raise serious credibility

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

problems about existing projections of growth to 2050 and confounds best efforts to gauge future Hispanic voting strength.

The surge in Hispanic turnout may well have bureaucratic as well as demographic roots. The eight years of the Clinton administration saw several projects intended to open the vote to masses of those loosely tied to the community or those who simply could not handle the paperwork. The Motor-Voter Act of 1993 made registration easy and painless for even the most marginalized, while minimizing documentary proofs of citizenship. Eased registration by mail had similar effects. The Clinton administration's hurry-up naturalization of 1.1 million people in the year before the election brought still more Hispanic immigrants, ready or not, into the electorate.

Strength Commensurate with Numbers? Not Yet

But does the Hispanics' raw population growth translate into corresponding voting power in the nation and among heavily Hispanic states in the near future? The estimated national turnout in 2000 of 7.3 million voters means that only 20.6 percent of the Hispanic population voted. Contrast that with the proportion of those voting from other ethnic groups. African-American voters were 31.5 percent of their population, 50 percent higher than Hispanics. Asians, though nearly two-thirds foreign born, almost matched Hispanics in the portion of their population going to the polls (19.8 percent to 20.6 percent). Non-Hispanic whites voting were 43.4 percent of their total population. In California, non-Hispanic whites who make up a little less than half the population constitute three-quarters of the electorate. It will be years before that share of the vote shrinks below half. The large and recently arrived foreign-born share of their population and the high percentage of population below voting age are two critical demographic factors that are likely to keep Hispanic turnout below that of non-Hispanic whites and blacks for some time. Almost 36 percent of the Hispanic population is below the voting age of 18, compared to only 23.5 percent of non-Hispanic whites.

In 2000, 39 percent of Hispanics were foreign-born. In 1997, only 24 percent of Hispanic immigrants had gained naturalization. Among the 43 percent of all immigrants entering since 1990, only 6.7 percent have been naturalized. The naturalization rate among Mexican immigrants in 1997 was a mere 15 percent, creating a special challenge to voter registration drives in such heavily Mexican states as California and Texas.

The 39 percent foreign-born figure is likely to be revised upward as Census 2000 data now indicates much higher immigration than projected. While time will remedy some of these adverse demographic factors, in the near-term Hispanics will remain underrepresented at the ballot box. A quick reprise of the status of the 35.3 million Hispanic population shows that some 12 million are now underage for voting, and of the 23.3 million remaining some 6.7 million are not citizens. Hispanic America is thus left with a core electorate of only 16.6 million. A refusal to accept this fact may well heat up new pressures to rubber stamp naturalizations, further ease the documentary proof for registration, or change the election rules entirely to allow non-citizens, even illegal aliens, to vote.

"Persistent high immigration will also preserve many of the social liabilities of Hispanics that work against political participation. The Latino, on average, is younger, poorer, less educated, and more linguistically isolated than his non-Hispanic white and African-American counterparts."

Census population projections imply that Hispanics' under-representation at the polls will taper off only slowly. High immigration will ensure a foreign-born component of 30 percent at least until 2020 — probably more when the projections are adjusted to the reality of higher immigration. By mid-century the projected Hispanic population will top 100

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million, but 20 percent of it will be immigrants.[5] Persistent high immigration will also preserve many of the social liabilities of Hispanics that work against political participation. The Latino, on average, is younger, poorer, less educated, and more linguistically isolated than his non-Hispanic white and African-American counterparts. As an official of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) explained it, "[The Latino vote] is not a working middle-class electorate; it's a working poor electorate. And you have to go door to door to reach people." This sort of campaigning is expensive and difficult, according to another SVREP official, and lags current campaign practices emphasizing expensive media and telephone contact with the most likely voters. Unless Hispanics step up personal contacts and canvassing, he fears, "Their voice will remain muted."[6]

Will There Be a 'Hispanic Bloc'?

The Democratic party has not won the entire ideological battle for the Latino vote. Latinos are liberal on social welfare and immigration issues, but conservative on some critical social issues. More than half of Latinos are pro-life and support the death penalty. They voted against California's proposition to legalize marijuana and they tend to share Republican views on issues such as school vouchers and gay rights.[7] Yet there are significant differences in public opinion on these and other issues among Hispanic subgroups. Cuban-Americans strongly support abortion rights, for example. The sense of racial otherness that undergirds the political cohesion and direction of African-Americans is not mirrored among Hispanics, notwithstanding frequent invocations of "La Raza" among Hispanic leaders. According to the census, a little less than half of all Hispanics identify themselves as white. These differences, along with polls showing that Hispanics feel low identification with other Hispanics outside their national origin groups, raise skepticism about the future viability of a "Hispanic voting bloc."

There is nothing in Latino political culture that predisposes them to support liberal, welfare-state parties. Mexicans in Mexico, given a chance with free elections, overwhelmingly voted in a more conservative, less statist, business-minded administration. Puerto Rico's counterpart of the U.S. Republican party is a powerful political competitor and regularly wins elections on that island. Contemporary politics in Latin America is characterized by democratic, conservative, free-market governments. A sign of the times was that Latin America's archetypal populist, pro-labor, welfare state party, the Justicialistas (Peronists), recreated themselves as a more conservative, free enterprise party and regained power in the 1990s.

No Allegiances Are Permanent in the U.S. Electorate

The American electorate — even its segments driven by ethnicity, race and religion — has a short attention span. It can be swept by spasms of aversion toward a particular party or movement, rarely is the rejection permanent. The electorate grows and changes with prosperity or poverty, secularization, education, social mobility, intermarriage, and the appeal of newer and more relevant needs and grievances. And the political parties, seeking to be microcosms of the electorate, change their messages, self-definitions, target groups, interests, and what goes in the United States for their "ideologies," in an unceasing whirlwind of opportunistic adaptation.

"These differences, along with polls showing that Hispanics feel low identification with other Hispanics outside their national origin groups, raise skepticism about the future viability of a 'Hispanic voting bloc.'"

A post-Civil War observer of American politics might have concluded that the adherence of millions of newly enfranchised slaves to the ascendant Republican party would have left the Democratic party a chronic also-ran for national power. That same observer returned to our era would be astonished by the near unanimity of Black Americans' preference for the Democratic party, and the massive flight of once atavistic southern Democrats to the Republican party.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Would not such a time-traveling political observer from the late nineteenth century also note that the majority of the descendants of the massive waves of immigrants of that period are now themselves restrictionists?

None of this is remarkable. Political parties in the U.S. may have at one time been bodies of believers united by a common faith and militancy. But now their prime roles are as electoral apparatuses, animated more by power than program to organize this vast and varied population for regular rituals of selection, nomination, and promotion of candidates in their electoral tests. Political competition has become a market process. Governance is a commodity and the electors are consumers. Consumer preferences are shaped by advertising, tested and retested by polls, and cemented by pork and patronage. Ideology can become a matter of spin in this merchandising. As an important New York Tammany boss once commented after an upsurge in Socialist Party votes, "They don't have to vote socialist. If they want socialism, Tammy will give it to them." This role of modern parties is hardly inspirational. But it is hard to imagine how the democratic process as we now know it would work without it. True, American history shows that major political parties do succumb. Where are the Federalists and the Whigs now? And third parties come and go in dizzying succession. But the unceasing churning of the electorate and the proven market adaptability of both major parties make it unlikely that even the explosive growth of the overwhelmingly Democratic Hispanic minority could make the GOP a perennial also-ran in presidential politics.

Mass Immigration and the Likely Growth of Rival Constituencies

The United States' continuing indifference to mass immigration is itself a factor that could well reduce the top-heavy primacy of the Hispanics among America's ethnic and immigrant groups. The mass immigration that has fed the Hispanic minority's growth may well nourish competing ethnic groups. Hispanics now loom large in the population of the United States, but their source countries are but a modest portion of world population. Asian immigration to the United States is now only in its infancy. The Census Bureau, with its characteristic disingenuousness, predicts that the population share of Asians in America, with their higher propensity to vote, will approach forty million by 2050. Expect these projections to be even more understated than the Census Bureau's myopic reading of U.S. population growth between 1990 and 2000.

China and India alone now comprise 2.2 billion people, 36 percent of the world's population. Both are undergoing rapid urbanizing that will sharply boost immigration expectations. Both have developed elaborate migration networks to and within the United States and sizable anchor populations. Within two decades combined legal, illegal, and nominally "temporary" immigration — now about a third of the flow — could exceed current Latino immigration, now 44 percent of legal immigration and over half of illegal. There is nothing in the Asian immigration experience so far that suggests that the new masses of immigrants from China and India will sign on en masse with the Democrats.

So, are the Republicans done for? Clearly, they will be here for a while and will continue to win elections, though expect to see the party offering considerably more Hispanic candidates. A tougher question is this: In the identity group politics likely to prevail in mid-century in an America of 400 million very different peoples, will the two-party system for aggregating diverse interests survive, or will it give way to an India-style congeries of regional, ethnic and religious parties? ■

NOTES

[1] Gannett News Service, 18 January 2001.

[2] Hero, Rodney, "Latino Participation, Partisanship and Office Holding." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, September 2000.

[3] Velazquez Institute: www.wcvi.org/USLVC.html and www.wcvl.org/USLVR. 21 March 2001; and Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, 14 August 1999.

[4] Bureau of the Census, CB01-41, 6 March 2001.

[5] Bureau of the Census Projection, Middle Series. NP-T4-E.

[6] "Absentee Ballot, Apathy, and Noncitizenship." *Hispanic*, 30 September 1998.

[7] Hero, cited above.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ethnopolitics

Ethnic and racial implications of the 2000 elections

by Samuel Francis

In a controversial article in *National Review* in 1997, immigration expert Peter Brimelow and Ed Rubenstein predicted that the Republican Party was facing imminent political catastrophe due to the continuing tide of immigrants into the country and into the Democratic Party. Acknowledging that "Hispanics do indeed move rightward the longer they remain in America," the authors also contended that "This effect is canceled out by newly arrived immigrants who overwhelmingly vote Democratic. Hence, directly because of immigration the GOP has never approached a majority of the Hispanic vote. And this shows no sign of changing any time soon."

Even if the Republicans could maintain their 1988 level of support from each ethnic group in the American electorate (and they failed to do so in 1996), "They have at most two presidential cycles left. Then they go inexorably into minority status, beginning in 2008."

At first glance the results of the 2000 presidential election would seem to prove the Brimelow-Rubenstein thesis wrong. George W. Bush not only won the presidential election but did so after making concerted appeals to both black and Hispanic voters who have traditionally supported the Democrats. Bush is himself fluent in Spanish and used his language skills as well as those of his brother, Governor Jeb Bush of Florida and his Hispanic family, to campaign in Hispanic areas. As governor of Texas, George W. Bush had won strong support from Hispanic voters in that state in his own 1998 re-election campaign, and one of his attractions to Republicans in 2000 was his supposed ability to cut into the habitually Democratic Hispanic bloc.

Unfortunately, upon a closer examination of the returns in the 2000 election, nothing really contradicts the Brimelow-Rubenstein thesis of 1997, and much appears to support it. Moreover, despite intensive rhetoric from both political parties about "racial reconciliation," the advantages of "diversity" that mass immigration supposedly brings, and the "end of racism," the truth appears to be that racial and ethnic solidarity is stronger than ever and will continue to shape American politics well into the future. The implication of these facts is clear: Immigration (along with an intensification of African-American racial solidarity in political behavior) has not served to unite the nation but to fragment it along ethnic and racial lines and to push the political spectrum toward the political left.

Exit polls from the Voter News Service (VNS) conducted on election day (Nov. 7), 2000 reveal the ethnic and racial patterns of the vote. Perhaps the most striking ethnic pattern to emerge from the election is the overwhelming support for Democratic candidate Vice President Al Gore from black voters. VNS exit polls show that black voters, making up some 10 percent of the national electorate, supported Gore by 90 percent. While black male voters supported Gore by 85 percent, the Democratic candidate's support among black female voters was even larger — a huge 94 percent.

Nationally, about 19 percent — nearly one in five — of Gore's votes came from black voters. The level of black support for the Republican presidential candidate, however, was strikingly low; only 8 percent of black voters cast their ballots for George W. Bush. Black male voters went for Bush by 12 percent, but black female voters supported him by only 6 percent. Black support for the GOP ticket in 2000 was lower than in any other presidential election year since 1964, when Republican nominee Sen. Barry Goldwater, who

Samuel Francis, Ph.D., *is a nationally-syndicated columnist. His most recent book,* Revolution from the Middle, *is available from The Social Contract Press, 1.800.352.4843, or through our online bookstore at www.thesocialcontract.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had opposed civil rights legislation in the Senate, won only 6 percent of the black vote. By contrast, Ronald Reagan in 1984 won 9 percent of the black vote.

Yet, as black conservative commentator Armstrong Williams wrote after the election, "Gov. Bush pursued African-American connections with more avidity than any Republican candidate of recent memory. He studded his campaign trail with stops at inner-city schools, churches, welfare offices, and black communities. He filled his commercials with minority faces in an attempt to tell minority voters they were part of his party. He prominently kissed a black baby and could often be seen mingling with Hispanics." Why then did Bush not win more black votes?

"The level of Hispanic support for the Republican ticket is important because of its implications for the immigration policies that the GOP supports."

One of the main reasons seems to be that his Democratic opponents and their supporters, the NAACP, mounted a concerted campaign to depict Bush as racially insensitive and an opponent of black political goals. Gore himself repeatedly denounced Bush's campaign pledge to appoint "strict constructionist" judges as a covert commitment to restore segregation and Jim Crow laws. Matthew Rees of the *Weekly Standard* noted a television ad sponsored by the NAACP that used the voice of the daughter of black murder victim James Byrd Jr., slain in Texas in 1998 by whites for apparently racial reasons, that "all but blamed Bush for her father's death at the hands of white racists." This and similar NAACP-sponsored ads on TV and radio accused Bush of indifference to "hate crimes," opposing new hate crimes legislation for Texas in the wake of the Byrd killing, and opposing federal legislation against "racial profiling"; most of these ads strongly insinuated that Bush's positions were driven by racial bigotry. The NAACP in 2000 spent some $12 million through its National Voters Fund in a campaign to register black voters and get them to the polls.

Yet, while pro-Democratic ads nakedly appealed to racial solidarity in a negative way, the kind of appeals to black voters sponsored by Republicans were no less racial in a positive way. Filling TV ads with minority faces and kissing black babies are no less appeals to win votes on the basis of race than insinuating that an opponent is a racial bigot.

The black support for Gore was aided also by a sizeable black voter turnout on election day in critical swing states. While the national level of black voter turnout remained about the same in 2000 as in 1996 (about 10 percent), "black turnout increased more dramatically in states targeted by the NAACP, labor unions, and the Democratic Party," the *Washington Post* reported. *The Wall Street Journal* reported that in Florida, "[Black] turnout surged by 50 percent from four years ago, giving blacks clout beyond their share of the voting-age population here," and DeWayne Wickham in *USA Today* attributed the forced vote recount in Florida to the massive black support for Gore (93 percent) in that state. Some 29 percent of Gore's votes in Florida came from black voters. Political scientist David Bositis told the *Journal* that "Black-voter turnout appears to be a significant factor this year. In Michigan, Delaware, Florida, and Pennsylvania, black-voter turnout was absolutely critical" to Gore's final vote counts. In Missouri, the black share of the total vote grew from 5 percent in 1996 to 12 percent last year, helping to defeat incumbent Republican Sen. John Ashcroft and elect the deceased Gov. Mel Carnahan to the U.S. Senate. In Tennessee, black turnout increased from 13 percent in 1996 to 18 percent in 2000.

If black voter support for Gore was overwhelming, so too was Hispanic support, though at lower levels. While black voters went for Gore by 90 percent, Hispanic voters, who make up some 7 percent of the electorate nationally, supported the Democrat by 67 percent — a level that is usually considered a landslide. Hispanic voters went for George W. Bush by only 31 percent, though Republican propagandists were quick to boast that this was a significant gain for their party over the miserably low 21 percent of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national Hispanic vote won by Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole in 1996.

The level of Hispanic support for the Republican ticket is important because of its implications for the immigration policies that the GOP supports. In 1994, California Gov. Pete Wilson won re-election (and indeed political resurrection) by endorsing the state's ballot initiative, Proposition 187, which terminated and prohibited all publicly funded services for illegal aliens. Although actually a budget proposal, Prop. 187 was widely viewed as an immigration measure and attracted both enemies and supporters because of that interpretation. The measure passed by some 65 percent and served for a while to place immigration issues on the national political agenda.

But because of Bob Dole's poor showing among Hispanics in 1996, supporters of liberal immigration policies such as Linda Chavez and Paul Gigot of *The Wall Street Journal* argued that Republican support for Prop. 187 and subsequent restrictions on immigration had only served to alienate the growing Hispanic vote and that only by abandoning immigration restriction and courting Hispanic voters could Republicans expect to win in the future. In the years between 1996 and 2000, their advice was largely adopted by the Republican Party at the national level and in many states, including California. The Bush campaign in 2000 sought to attract Hispanic voters just as much as it sought to win black voters. It was only marginally more successful in doing so.

Indeed, a state-by-state analysis of the Hispanic vote for the GOP ticket in 2000 conducted by United Press International (UPI) reporter Steven Sailer soon after the election shows very little improvement in the Republican showing due to Bush's personal appeals, strategy, or immigration policies. In California, for example, which has the largest number of Hispanic voters of any state and where Hispanics constitute 13.4 percent of the state electorate, Bush lost the Hispanic vote to Gore by an overwhelmingly larger margin than he lost it nationally — 28 percent to Gore's 67 percent (the *Orange County Register* a week after the election reported that Bush won only 21 percent of the state's Hispanics). In 1996, according to the *Almanac of American Politics, 2000*, Bob Dole won only 20 percent of the Hispanic vote in California to Bill Clinton's 71 percent, so Bush's showing was not a significant gain.

Indeed, the whole argument that Republican and conservative support for Prop.187 and immigration control generally alienated Hispanic voters from the GOP is open to question. In the first place, while strong Republican candidates like Nixon and Reagan could win 30 percent to 35 percent of the Hispanic vote nationally, weaker candidates such as Gerald Ford in 1976 and George H. W. Bush in 1992 were able to win only smaller shares — and this was well before Prop.187 came along. Ford in 1976 won only 24 percent and Bush in 1992 won only 25 percent of the national Hispanic vote. Dole's 21 percent in 1996 (and 20 percent in California) is consistent with the performance of a weak Republican candidate among Hispanic voters. Moreover, Dole himself publicly repudiated the Republican Party's platform plank calling for immigration control (drafted by Pat Buchanan forces at the GOP convention) and chose as his running mate the militantly pro-immigration neo-conservative Jack Kemp, who had actively opposed Proposition 187 in 1994. Dole himself had no visible record on immigration issues. Whatever Pete Wilson and California Republicans might have said or done to alienate Hispanic voters in 1994 did not apply to Dole and Kemp in 1996 (or to low Hispanic support for George W. Bush outside of California in 2000). In any case, 23 percent of Hispanic voters in California voted for Prop. 187, suggesting that about a quarter of the Hispanic vote in the state is essentially conservative and Republican and is what Republican candidates should normally expect to receive in that state.

Bush's gain in Hispanic votes in 2000 over Dole in 1996 was therefore not due to any significantly greater success among California Hispanics than Dole. The same is true in two other major regions of concentrated Hispanic voting power, New York and Texas. In the former, which contains the third largest concentration of Hispanic voters (8.2 percent of the state electorate) in the nation, Bush lost Hispanic support even more dramatically, carrying only 18 percent of the state's Hispanic (largely Puerto Rican) voters to Gore's 80 percent. (Hillary Clinton in her successful race for the U.S. Senate seat from New

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

York won 85 percent of Hispanic votes.) In Texas, Bush's home state where he had (according to pro-Republican propaganda) carried a majority of Hispanic voters in his re-election campaign in 1998 (the real figure was only 39 percent), Bush did better but still failed to win a majority of Hispanic voters. Texas contains the nation's second largest concentration of Hispanic voters (19.6 percent), and Bush won only 42 percent of them — admittedly a gain over his 1998 performance and considerably better than most Texas Republicans, but still considerably less than the Hispanic majority of 54 percent carried by Gore.

Only in Florida, where Hispanics constitute 11.9 percent of the state electorate and make up the nation's fourth largest concentration of Hispanic voters, was Bush able to win a slim majority of 50 percent to Gore's 48 percent. It must be remembered that Bush's brother Jeb Bush is the governor of Florida, that his wife and children are visibly Hispanic, and that they campaigned strongly for Bush in the state.

But the Florida Hispanic vote is largely Cuban in extraction, and Cuban voters have historically voted Republican. Democratic presidential candidates have traditionally received only 13 percent to 15 percent of the Florida Cuban vote, though in 1996 Bill Clinton actually won 27 percent of the Cubans. In the post-Cold War political environment, the anti-Castro sentiment that drove Cubans into GOP ranks may be dwindling as a major motive of voting behavior.

Nevertheless, the major reason for Bush's win among Hispanics in Florida last year, in most experts' views, was the Clinton administration's alienation of the Cuban constituency by its support for returning Elian Gonzalez to Cuba earlier in the year. As *Fox News'* Malcolm Balfour reported, one local voter of Cuban background told him a few days after the vote, "I know hundreds of people who registered to vote just because of that raid on Elian's relatives' home. Last time, I voted for the Democrat, Bill Clinton, but no way would I vote Democrat this time around. That was a Democratic conspiracy to carry out an illegal raid just when the parties were reaching an agreement. The Democratic Party violated the civil rights of Cuban-Americans everywhere."

Two days before the election, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported that "as Election Day nears Cuban-American exiles are getting ready to exact their revenge [for Clinton's policy toward the Gonzalez boy]. Al Gore seems set to pay the price for the Clinton administration's efforts to let the boy go back to Cuba with his dad," even though Gore himself expressed disagreement with the administration's policy.

Bush also did poorly among Hispanic voters in Western and Southwestern states. In Arizona, where Hispanics are 13.6 percent of the electorate, Gore won Hispanics by 65 percent to Bush's 33 percent. In New Mexico, where more than one-third (34.9 percent) of the electorate is Hispanic, Gore won 66 percent among Hispanics to Bush's 32 percent. In Colorado, where Hispanics compose 8 percent of the electorate, Hispanics voted for Gore 68 percent over Bush, 25 percent.

"Throughout the campaign Bush repeatedly expressed support for more immigration from Latin America, praised its results, and distanced himself from immigration restriction and control."

Yet throughout the campaign, Bush repeatedly expressed support for more immigration from Latin America, praised its results, and distanced himself from immigration restriction and control. Thus, in an interview with the *Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette* on 6 January 2000, Bush said, "We ought to increase legal immigration for our country's advantage. The high-tech world we are now dominating is dependent on educated folks, but we're short...of workers." Last August, Bush described his view of the effects of immigration on American society in these glowing terms in a speech to a Hispanic audience in Miami:

> *America has one national creed, but many accents. We are now one of the largest*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spanish-speaking nations in the world. We're a major source of Latin music, journalism and culture.

Just go to Miami, or San Antonio, Los Angeles, Chicago or West New York, New Jersey...and close your eyes and listen. You could just as easily be in Santo Domingo or Santiago, or San Miguel de Allende.

For years our nation has debated this change — some have praised it and others have resented it. By nominating me, my party has made a choice to welcome the new America.

Bush often campaigned in Spanish and made heavy use of his half-Mexican nephew, George P. Bush, in his campaign appeals to Hispanic voters. Bush's supporters in the conservative press such as the *Washington Times'* Donald Lambro confidently prophesied his capture of a majority of Hispanic voters. Thus, on 20 December 1999, Lambro wrote in the *Times* that "George W. Bush is winning support from a majority of Hispanic voters" and cited "Hispanic officials and grass-roots activists" who said Bush's support among Hispanics was "the result of Mr. Bush's efforts to reach out to Hispanics with a message of inclusiveness and with tax-cut proposals that appeal to business owners and families with children." Of course, as many critics of Bush's approach to Hispanics predicted, Hispanic ethnic loyalties in the end proved far more powerful than tax-cuts as motivations for voting behavior.

"The conclusion is unavoidable: Bush's elaborate appeals to Hispanics on the basis of abandoning immigration restriction and courting Hispanics at the GOP convention and in the campaign was a failure."

The conclusion is unavoidable: Bush's elaborate appeals to Hispanics on the basis of abandoning immigration restriction and courting Hispanics at the GOP convention and in the campaign was a failure. He gained Hispanic votes at all only because of his own connections with Hispanic voters in his home state of Texas and because of blunders by the Democrats among Hispanics in Florida.

Indeed, Hispanic solidarity with the Democrats should not be surprising. As a report in the *Boston Globe* pointed out shortly before the election, "More than 1.7 million resident aliens have become U.S. citizens in the past two years, most of them with an incentive to vote and a lopsided preference for the Democratic Party." The story quoted one California Democratic activist as saying, "Both parties show up at swearing-in ceremonies to try to register voters. There is a Democratic table and a Republican table. Ours has a lot of business. Theirs is like the Maytag repairman." In January 2001, the *London Financial Times*, reporting on the transformation of California state politics by the Hispanic presence there, noted that the demographic shift in the state is "moulding the foundations of a one-party state" for the Democrats. "Fresh data," the *Financial Times* reported, "show a continuing shift of Latin and Asian voters into the Democrat camp." The prospects for the Republicans in the state are thus no better in the future than they have been in the past.

Similar solidarity among other ethnic groups was also apparent during the 2000 election, with Jews voting 79 percent for the Gore-Lieberman ticket (Jewish voters traditionally cast about a third of their support to the Republican nominee, but in 1992, 1996, and last year's elections the Republican candidates won only 11 percent, 16 percent, and 19 percent of the Jewish vote respectively). Similarly, Asian voters went for Gore by a strong (though not overwhelming) 54 percent; in 1992, 55 percent of Asian voters supported George H. W. Bush and in 1996 48 percent supported Dole and only 44 percent Clinton. These figures show a steady trend among Asian voters toward the political left during the last decade. Reportedly, about 70 percent of American Indians and about 60 percent of Arab-Americans also voted for Gore last year.

The only ethnic group that can be said to have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supported the Republicans is whites, though by no means as solidly as most non-white blocs support the Democrats. In 2000, white men, who compose 39 percent of the electorate, voted for George W. Bush over Al Gore by 60 percent to 35 percent. White women, who make up 43 percent of the electorate, were much more evenly split, with 49 percent voting for Bush and 48 percent voting for Gore. White voters in general, who compose 82 percent of the electorate, voted for Bush over Gore by 54 percent to 42 percent. Table 1 shows the historic pattern of white voting since 1972.

The table shows that while a majority of white voters usually vote for the Republican candidate, only twice in the eight presidential elections since 1972 — in that year and in 1984 — have they voted together by more than 60 percent and only four times have more than 55 percent of whites voted together for a single candidate. Compare this level of bloc voting to that of blacks (always 80-90 percent) or Hispanics (always 60-75 percent), and it is clear that of the three major racial/ethnic groups in the U.S., whites vote less as a bloc than the two others.

Table 1. Voting by Whites, 1972-2000
(* indicates winner)

Year	Republican		Democrat		Third Party	
1972	Nixon*	67%	McGovern	31%		
1976	Ford	52%	Carter*	47%		
1980	Reagan*	56%	Carter	36%	Anderson	7%
1984	Reagan*	64%	Mondale	35%		
1988	G.H.W.Bush*	59%	Dukakis	40%		
1992	G.H.W.Bush	40%	Clinton*	39%	Perot	20%
1996	Dole	46%	Clinton*	43%	Perot	9%
2000	G.W.Bush*	54%	Gore	42%	Nader	3%

It will also be noticed that the percentage of whites who support the Democrats does not change significantly from year to year. Although George W. Bush won a strong majority of 54 percent of white voters last year, Gore did better than most Democratic candidates in the recent past by winning 42 percent. The 42-43 percent of white votes that Gore and Clinton won in 1996 and 2000 respectively is more than any Democratic presidential candidate has won since Jimmy Carter in 1976. Correspondingly, Bush's 54 percent majority last year, while better than what Bob Dole and Bush's father won in their races in the '90s, is a distinct decline from the nearly 60 percent average won by Republican nominees in the 1970s and '80s.

One major reason for the improvement of the Democratic ticket in winning white votes and the decline in white votes for the Republican ticket in 2000 is the change in the political strategies of the two parties in recent years. The Republicans have deliberately neglected their natural political base among white voters in a fruitless pursuit of non-white voters, while the Democrats have not hesitated to appeal to at least key sectors of the white vote even as they also appealed to non-white and anti-white racial anxieties to mobilize non-white support.

Recent Republican strategy reflects a deliberate decision on the part of party leaders to abandon both the issues and the strategy — and presumably the constituencies that the strategy won — that brought landslide victories to such Republican leaders as Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan in the past. Recent Republican strategy also reflects the growing belief that winning non-whites votes is essential to the Republican future. Whereas strong Republican candidates like Nixon and Reagan in the 1970s and 1980s relied on what came to be known as the "Southern strategy" to win high levels of support

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among white voters, the new Republicans of the 1990s explicitly rejected and abandoned that strategy.

Thus, GOP pollster Lance Tarrance told the *Washington Times* in January 2000, "We have now moved from the Southern strategy we pursued for the last three decades, since Richard Nixon, to a Hispanic strategy for the next three decades. The maturing of the Hispanic vote is in the very states that have allowed the Republican Party to develop its first majority in the last half century."

Similarly, Jim Nicholson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, told the *Times*, "This party is going after the growing Hispanic vote with TV ads, Hispanic candidate recruitment attempts, campaigns conducted by Spanish-speaking Republicans in Latino communities and an all-out effort to persuade newly naturalized citizens of Hispanic origin to join the Republican Party." In 1999, Republican state Sen. Jim Brulte of California explicitly vowed that he would no longer support financial contributions to white, male candidates. "My leadership PAC will give no more money to Anglo males in Republican primaries," Sen. Brulte said. "Every dollar I can raise is going to nominate Latinos and Asian Americans and women. We have to expand our outreach."

In August 2000, the *Washington Post* cited Karl Rove, Bush's top political strategist, as dismissing the Southern strategy as an "old paradigm" that "past GOP candidates had employed in a calculated bid to polarize the electorate and put together a predominantly white majority. People are more attracted today by a positive agenda than by wedge issues," Rove told the *Post*. Ralph Reed, the former executive director of the Christian Coalition and now a Republican political consultant, also told the *Post*, "This is a very different party from the party that sits down on Labor Day and cedes the black vote and cedes the Hispanic vote, and tries to drive its percentage of the white vote over 70 percent to win an election." As indicated earlier, George W. Bush himself reflected this new strategy in his own campaign rhetoric and positions on immigration.

But the actual result of this new strategy is evident from the exit polls of the 2000 election. The strategy failed to attract significant numbers of non-white voters; it failed miserably to win black votes and won only enough Hispanic votes to raise Hispanic support to not-quite the traditional level of Hispanic support for the Republican ticket. More significantly, it also failed to attract the large numbers of white voters who are the natural base of the party and who remain essential for the kind of clear-cut, landslide electoral victories won by Nixon and Reagan. Bush was able to win a small majority of white voters, but without the kind of explicit appeals to them that Nixon and Reagan made, he and his party are unable to win larger majorities. Experts like Reed and Rove are entirely correct that today's GOP is a different party from the old one of Nixon and Reagan. The old party could win landslide victories through the Southern strategy and appeals to white voters. The new party built by Reed, Rove, and Bush can barely win elections at all and managed to lose the popular vote to its opponent. (Bush not only lost the popular vote to Gore, and certainly would have lost the electoral vote as well had Ralph Nader not run as a third-party candidate of the left and taken votes from Gore.)

The Democrats under Al Gore, by contrast, made every effort to cut into the Republicans' white political base. They did so by deploying what during the campaign was called the "class war" strategy, denouncing Big Business (Big Oil, Big Tobacco, Big Drug companies), vowing free prescription drugs and health care for the elderly, and appealing to white union members. *Washington Post* political reporter Thomas Edsall noted this strategy during the campaign:

"Gore's success in making inroads with working-class voters, especially white men, has been crucial to his improved standing in the battleground states of Michigan, Ohio and Missouri that hold the balance of power in the 2000 election," Edsall wrote in September 2000. "Among all voters in each of these states, Democrat Gore is either fully competitive with, or slightly ahead of Texas Gov. Bush, the Republican nominee." Although Gore lost in two of these states, the strength of his challenge to Bush in them forced his rival to divert resources and attention he might have deployed elsewhere.

One reason that Gore did not in the end do better among white voters, according to Edsall, is that Gore's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

support for gun control weakened his appeal to blue-collar white male voters and that intensive anti-Gore efforts by the National Rifle Association prevented him from winning more of their support. "The problem for Democrats," Edsall reported in October, "is that gun control is unpopular among many of the swing voters both campaigns are targeting in the final weeks of the campaign, particularly in battleground states — such as Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, and Pennsylvania — with a sizable bloc of hunters and other gun enthusiasts." As a result, Gore began to moderate his anti-gun rhetoric and back away from his support for gun control. Pollster Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center, noted that "Gore's decision to de-emphasize gun control may be based on poll trends that show a reduction in the overall support for gun control, especially among men."

Nevertheless, Gore's populist strategy did seek to appeal to white working class voters and thereby cut into the political base of his opponent. Coupled with his success in winning non-white voting blocs through appeals to racial fears and animosity, his strategy did win the popular vote for president and lost the electoral vote only because of the Nader challenge and after a series of agonizing recounts and court battles in Florida.

The conclusion is inescapable: George W. Bush won the election not because his "compassionate conservatism," "Big Tent," or "Rainbow Republicanism" mobilized a majority of voters or attracted non-whites but because the political left was split between the Democrats and the Naderites. The Democrats won the popular vote and, despite the Naderite rebellion, nearly won the election because they explicitly appealed to and made use of the racial solidarity and racial consciousness that drives the majority of non-white voters, while at the same time using white working class economic anxieties to attract white voters and cut into their opponents' neglected political/demographic base.

For all the rhetoric of the "new Republicans" about winning non-whites, the lesson of the 2000 election for the GOP ought to be clear as well: Trying to win non-whites, especially by abandoning issues important to white voters, while neglecting, abandoning, or alienating whites, is the road to political suicide. The natural and logical strategy of the Republican Party in the future is to seek to maximize its white vote as much as possible.

The ethnic and racial analysis of the 2000 presidential election carries special implications for advocates of immigration reform and control. Either the Republicans or any other party able and willing to do so could attract the white votes that are the backbone of the GOP by embracing issues like immigration control and supporting a long-term moratorium on legal immigration, terminating welfare and other public benefits for immigrants, seeking the abolition of affirmative action, and working for the repeal of "hate crime" laws, the end of multiculturalism, and similar policies. Not only would such issues mobilize white voters legitimately concerned about the impact of mass immigration on themselves and their communities and nation, but terminating mass immigration would also slow down or halt the formation of new ethnically and racially driven bloc constituencies that immigration imports into American politics. The Republicans or any other party making use of this strategy could thus become and remain a majority party by appealing to and seeking to raise white racial consciousness; they do not have to do so and should not do so by appealing to irrational racial fears and animosities. Rather, they can and legitimately should encourage white voters to (1) perceive that they as a group are under threat from the racial and demographic trends in this country and the

"...George W. Bush won the election not because his "compassionate conservatism," "Big Tent," or "Rainbow Republicanism" mobilized a majority of voters or attracted non-whites but because the political left was split between the Democrats and the Naderites."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

racial politics those trends indicate and (2) believe that the Republican Party (or an alternative political vehicle) will consistently support them and their interests against this threat.

Advocates of Rainbow Republicanism will argue that this strategy is not possible or desirable, that it will only promote racial divisions, and that attracting more white voters than the Republicans now are able to win is not a practical goal. This line of argument is invalid. Racial animosity is already being inflamed — by the Democrats' willingness to exploit anti-white sentiments and by racial demagogues like Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, the NAACP, and analogous Hispanic racial extremists. The only force that can quell or check this kind of anti-white racism is the solidarity of whites against it and against those who try to use it for political gain.

As for the possibility of winning more white votes, it is entirely feasible, as the 67 percent and 64 percent white majorities won by Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan in 1972 and 1984 show. It is quite true that neither Nixon nor Reagan ever did much to address white concerns once they had won their votes, but a political leader who actually did seek to address such concerns could surely win that level of white support again. Some 82 percent of the 102 million Americans who voted in the election of 2000 were white; George W. Bush won 54 percent of them, or about 45 million. Had he won 65 percent of white voters, he would have won more than 54 million white votes, or 9 million more votes than he did win. There is no reason why that or even higher levels of white support are not possible.

Indeed, even that level of white support is not essential for decisive Republican political victory. As Steve Sailer showed in an analysis for Peter Brimelow's website <www.Vdare.com> last fall, if Bush had cultivated his natural base and increased his share of the white vote by only a few percentage points, he would have won the election overwhelmingly. If, instead of 54 percent, he had won 57 percent (his father won 59 percent in 1988), he would have won an electoral college landslide of 367 to 171. What if winning another 3 percent of the white vote had required appeals that scared away so many non-whites that their support dropped by more than a third, from 21 percent to 13 percent? Bush still would have won comfortably, with 310 electoral votes to 228. Even if by increasing his percentage of the white vote by 3 percentage points Bush had reduced the number of his non-white supporters to zero, he still would have wound up with a tie in the electoral college. Mr. Sailer points out that 92 percent of Bush's votes came from whites; it is suicidal folly for the Republicans to abandon the issues and strategies that attract these voters in pursuit of non-white Republicans who never materialize.

Brimelow himself has noted that, for all the Republican foreboding about the growing Hispanic and non-white presence in the electorates of California and other states, Southern whites now and historically have had to confront even larger racial disparities in the electorates of their own states. Blacks in the South constitute about 35 percent to 40 percent of the electorate of that region and, there as elsewhere, vote as a highly unified bloc. Nevertheless, the largely white Republican Party in the South routinely manages to win majorities in these states for both presidential and many congressional and gubernatorial candidates. It is able to do so because white Southerners — far more than whites elsewhere — vote as a bloc. In the election last year, exit polls showed that whites in the South voted for Bush by 66 percent; in the three other regions (East, West, and Midwest), white voters supported Bush by an average of only 49 percent. Obviously, white racial consciousness remains highest in the South, though the election of 2000 shows that there is, among a small majority of whites and especially white men, at least a kind of racial subconscious in much of the rest of the country as well. Only if whites of both sexes and in all parts of the nation bring that subconscious to the surface and make it a real force in national politics by translating it into political action at the polls can they expect to resist the ethnopolitics that threatens them and their future. If they do not and if the Republican Party proves itself incapable of leading them in doing so, then the Brimelow-Rubenstein thesis that uncontrolled immigration coupled with emerging non-white racial solidarity in voting behavior means the end of the GOP as a major national party will have been proved true. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republican Immigration Policy, Election Prospects

Will permissiveness doom future dominance?

by Miles D. Wolpin

[*Abstract: Given the high ethno-racial polarization that favored Liberal Democrats in the 2000 elections the likelihood appears strong that Republican commitment to permissive immigration will doom its electoral prospects for national dominance. Yet such a common sense prediction may be erroneous due to several fortuitous factors. Furthermore, even in the absence of Republican policy change vis-à-vis mass immigration and multiculturalism, future GOP national victories might provide greater opportunities for growth of a patriotic nationalist movement.*]

Is George W. Bush the last Republican president? Does it matter? These are exceptionally important questions for those who love the America bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Unfortunately, even tentative "answers" must be hedged with cautious uncertainty. Not only is the track record for historical prediction modest at best, but our fears and idealistic aspirations can easily subvert objectivity. Thus, important factors at variance with our beliefs may be unintentionally minimized or ignored. Even "common sense," as will be seen, can be misleading.

Indeed, the latter would suggest that Bush as the "last" Republican president is the easier question. Even his party's operatives are cognizant of exit poll ethno-racial and regional electoral patterns. Not only do they point to the failure of W's multicultural racial outreach, but his permissive stance vis a vis the Third World invasion and concomitant demographic trends epitomize the height of electoral irrationality. This because of his and the party's dogmatic adherence to "reachout" rainbowism! Thus, within four to eight years at the most, the Republicans appear destined for minority national status.

Even if some of its more conservative leaders desert in disgust, the residual "moderates" will be unable to effectively compete with the Democrats. This for several reasons, of which their historical European-American social core and ideological legacy are most salient.

In the short-term, it is impossible to divorce such an entity from its integral "free market," role of law and strong Christian symbolic identity or commitments. Nor is it possible to equal the zeal of Left-inspired Liberals in pandering to class envy, racial minority status, or feminist hypersensitivities among infected single women.

Much more than the urban-based Democrats, the party suffers from a paucity of militant grass roots activists in those very areas where alien and other voter fraud is most rampant. Assuming that legislation and administrative practices that have facilitated this subversion of citizenship obligations are not effectively reversed, this would appear to be the nail in the Republican national coffin — notwithstanding post-2000 census redistricting.

Does such a "common sense" approach rule out remission of the GOP's terminal decline and a possible return to national hegemony? A categorical affirmative answer appears justified *only in the absence* of several fortuitous events as well as a strategic possibility. Indeed, any one of these conceivably might obviate or at least stave-off an actual internment!

The first pertains to Democratic and Republican leadership quality — crucial intangibles that remain

Miles D. Wolpin *is professor emeritus of political science at the State University of New York College at Potsdam. He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

problematic for the present. What if George W's popularity gradually increases, thus broadening and deepening his mass appeal? Conversely, should Hillary outmaneuver her less divisive and more attractive rivals (e.g., Gephardt), her polarizing negatives could markedly enhance Republican white male, married female, Asian, and even some Latino support. Major breakthroughs by Judicial Watch could also seriously weaken Democratic appeal, especially among European-Americans.

Perhaps less problematic than the foregoing may be Green Party institutionalization and a campaign by Nader or an even more charismatic environmentalist! Intense resistance to Democratic blandishments can be expected from the eco-fanatical activists at the core of this growing anti-capitalist party. Unless the Democrats nominate an openly pro-environmental extremist, Green electoral appeal might again be sufficient to ensure Republican victory. On the other hand, a Democratic candidate who militantly denounced Republican energy and growth policies would drive numerous moderate and even some materialistic minority followers into the Republican constituency.

Finally, there are the structural risks of deepening the recession due to unprecedented multisectoral debt levels, malinvestment, derivative as well as equity speculation, stagflation, dollar weakening, and OPEC measures. Bush's responses, alternatively possible war in the Middle East or the Formosa Straits and/or a major act of terrorism, might well put the Democrats on the defensive for some years. Similar consequences could flow from a less likely and dramatic national anti-voting fraud reform that effectively denied millions of urban votes to the Democrats.

Least probable yet most effective might be a tacit reversal of Republican multicultural electoral strategy. One can envision, as Sam Francis perspicaciously recommends, a "Southern" or European-American shift in emphasis that inspires much higher electoral support from the party's traditional middle and upper working class constituency. Yet leadership *timidity* reinforced by a neo-conservative globalist ethos almost certainly militate against adoption of the Francis Proposal. More probable will be continued suppression or exclusion of those conservative nationalists favoring such an option who as yet remain within the GOP.

Short of this last and least probable "reborn Republican" option, one is tempted to doubt whether it matters if the Republicans decline by 2004 or manage to postpone their demise for a decade or so due to fortuitous events such as those discussed previously. Yet here too our instinctual common sense may be more emotionally therapeutic than enlightening.

"Least probable yet most effective might be a tacit reversal of Republican multicultural electoral strategy...Short of this least probable "reborn Republican" option, one is tempted to doubt whether it matters if the Republicans decline by 2004 or manage to postpone their demise for a decade or so..."

Both the Phillips and particularly the Buchanan Reform campaigns demonstrated that the patriotic movement lacks the resources, organization, unity, leadership, and committed mass following to effectively challenge hegemonic bi-partisan multicultural globalist elites. Notwithstanding the ouster of Spencer Abraham and the temporary defeat of recent alien mass amnesty legislation, nationalists are as yet far too weak to even halt the Liberal deconstructionist assault upon our heritage and citizenship itself.

Yet there are certain advantages that could result from a decade or so of Republican dominance. First, Liberal frustration, militant antagonism, and probable extremism (e.g., slavery "reparations") would increase. This could frighten even more "middle" Americans as the latter's impending demographic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subordination became blatantly obvious.

Not only would this enhance the growing patriotic constituency, it would provide much-needed time to develop adequate resources, unity, tactics, and leadership. Of vital importance to this process is the level of Liberal bigotry and demonization, state surveillance, and suppressive acts against nationalists. It is reasonable to assume that such tendencies would be considerably less intense and systematic under Republicans.

Even if the latter opportunistically react down the line to growing nationalist support by endeavoring to co-opt patriotic movement supporters by altering some policies (e.g., immigration or affirmative action), this would reorient the country away from multiculturalism and globalism. Violent reactive Leftist protests, in turn, might provide new opportunities to strengthen the patriotic movement's legitimacy and appeal.

At worst, a belated Republican shift toward greater suppression will be as half-hearted as the party's recent de facto acquiescence to affirmative action and cultural deconstructionism. By then nationalists presumably will be stronger and more effective in resisting even pervasive attempts to fragment and intimidate the movement. Further, many nationalist-inclined conservative Republicans and their supporters who oppose such measures may defect or at least decline to actively support them.

Despite the plausibility of this scenario, it is also conceivable that continued Republican hegemony under any of the circumstances identified earlier might be perceived to reduce the *urgency* of nationalist movement expansion. Certainly a Liberal Democratic national victory in two or four years would catalyze *intense* desperation and activism. Yet the denouement of militant Liberal state and media hegemony in the short-run is likely to be pervasive suppression, this following another "Waco" or "Tulsa." Infiltration and provocation have been historically employed by the Left to provide pre-emptive pretexts. Hence the "future" of a weakened patriotic movement might well be wholly underground given such circumstances.

A tentative conclusion then is that while most Republicans now do not deserve nationalist support in the absence of *at least* a major shift on immigration and affirmative action policies, nevertheless patriots will benefit from a more benign movement-building environment and therefore long-term prospects under that party's national dominance. Counter-intuitively, then, it probably *does* matter whether left-inspired Liberal Democrats replace them in the short-run. More problematic, however, is the likelihood of such an eventuality. ■

BREEN. Copley News Service, © 2001. Reprinted by permission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Election of 2000 Shows New Political Fault Lines

by E. Christian Kopff

The presidential election of 2000 revealed a United States split in two, but the division did not fit the standard categories of economic thought or political ideology. The fault lines were those of race and religion. The clarity of the results shook even those most committed to a vision of America as a nation "dedicated to a proposition," such as the free trade liberals of *The National Review.* NR's 4 December 2000 editorial made several points:

(1) "When the electorate is divided into voting blocs, the majority bloc favors the Republicans. Protestants, who were 54 percent of the electorate, gave 56 percent of their votes to Bush."

(2) "Bush tried, more than any previous Republican candidate had, not to offend liberal sensitivities on race. His reward: 35 percent of the Hispanic vote and a smaller share of the black vote than Bob Dole got in 1996. Asian-Americans, who favored Bob Dole and Bush's father, supported Gore by a 14-point margin. So the kinder, gentler strategy on race flopped."

(3) "Conservative political success depends on a citizenry that is culturally cohesive and that sees its interest in liberty."

For those accustomed to NR's usual pro-Catholic propaganda, the admission that the American majority is Protestant and that Protestants are the political basis of a future conservative America will come as a welcome ray of realism. NR did not point out that the majority of the Catholic minority of 27 percent of voters cast their ballots for Gore, the pro-abortion candidate.

"The hope for a winning strategy is clear. White Christians, Protestant and Catholic, need to be persuaded to vote Republican in the same percentages that Jews and Hispanics, not to mention Blacks, vote Democratic."

There are several ways to analyze the data. The Ethics and Public Policy Center of the University of Akron evaluated voters according to their self-identification as "observant" or "less-observant." Bush received the votes of 84 percent of "observant Evangelicals" and 66 percent of "observant mainline Protestants" as well as 88 percent of Mormons. He also received a majority, about 55 percent, of the votes of less observant evangelicals and mainline Protestants.

There is another way to look at the electoral results. Gore received 96 percent of the votes of Black Protestants, 77 percent of Jews, and 76 percent of Hispanic Catholics and Protestants. Religion and race count. The groups that vote for the Democratic Party and its candidates think they are winning and are not impressed by a smiley-faced obeisance to "liberal sensitivities on race." They treat such kowtowing for what it is, the desperate attempt of a losing army to slow down its rate of retreat. This strategy did not impress Blacks, Jews, and Hispanics and it convinced Asian-Americans, who formerly voted with White Christians, that it was time to leave the losing and join the winning side.

E. Christian Kopff *is professor of classics at the University of Colorado, Boulder and at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies in Rome. His most recent book,* The Devil Knows Latin: Why America Needs the Classical Tradition, *is available from The Social Contract Press at 1.800.352.4843 or at www.thesocialcontract.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The hope for a winning strategy is clear. White Christians, Protestant and Catholic, need to be persuaded to vote Republican in the same percentages that Jews and Hispanics, not to mention Blacks, vote Democratic. There needs to be a two-pronged approach. The Republican Party needs a reformed leadership committed to policies that appeal to the mass of Christian voters. *Inter alia*, this means the effective end of immigration and a coherent policy of developing and protecting America's industrial and agricultural base to protect and foster America's cultural unity.

On the other hand, the Republican Party needs to ignore or undermine the leadership of mainline Protestant churches and the Catholic hierarchy, since both groups have been infiltrated by the left in true Gramscian fashion. Paul Gottfried has demonstrated this for the mainline Protestant denominations. The intentions of the Catholic hierarchy could not be expressed more clearly than by the recent appointment of a Mexican as a new bishop in Denver. There will be no effort to assimilate new immigrants to the American Way of Life. On the contrary, immigrants will be encouraged to maintain their old way of life by bishops who speak their language, literally and figuratively.

White Catholics, many of whom think like Pat Buchanan, are loyal Americans and will form an indispensable part of a revival of creativity and freedom in the United States. The Catholic hierarchy, on the other hand, view themselves as molding the church of the New World Order. They are without loyalty to the United States or even the traditions of their own church. (The ease with which they turned from defending to attacking capital punishment, a part of Christian moral doctrine found in Genesis 9, Romans 13, and Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, reveals that they look upon the magisterium of the Church not as a sacred legacy but as a tool to foster political ends.)

Both mainline Protestant leadership and Catholic hierarchy are in favor of increased immigration into the United States. (In Italy, however, the Bishop of Rome encourages the Italian hierarchy to oppose Muslim immigration.) Both groups see immigration as an essential tool in the destruction of the cultural unity of the United States, a destruction they correctly view as essential for the replacement of the government of the United States by a new global regime that will be committed to undermining national and local traditions by privileging economics over politics, Enlightenment ideology over theology, and philosophy and science and political correctness over traditional Western ethics.

The creation of a new majority coalition will not be easy. It will require compromise and self-restraint. It may never be possible to turn back the worldwide victory the left has enjoyed in the last decade in China, South Africa, and Europe. A conservative victory is still possible in the United States, however, and a victory in the United States should be enough for Americans. ■

On Reporting about Immigrants and Immigration Policy

Coverage of the newcomers who live among us is altogether appropriate — the child of refugees becoming her high school's valedictorian; single young men, away from their families, gathering each week to play soccer in an abandoned field; a mother distraught at the pending deportation of her son after his conviction for car theft — these are the kinds of local news stories papers are supposed to cover. But without accompanying coverage, and understanding, of immigration policy and its effects, such stories totally lack context, and reporters and editors run the risk of being used by political advocates playing on their gullibility or unfamiliarity with the issue, and thus ill-serving the public.

—The Center for Immigration Studies in its 2000 "Eugene Katz Award for Excellence in the Coverage of Immigration" presented to William Branigin of the *Washington Post*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education on Wheels

How a mobile billboard has been used to open discussion among Americans about immigration

by Craig Nelsen

Early in the pre-dawn darkness of a morning in mid-November 1999, a pickup truck bearing New York plates and towing an unusual-looking trailer pulled up and parked across the street from the Town Hall in Sanborneville, New Hampshire. It was the political primary season and, in a few hours, presidential hopeful Senator John McCain would be addressing a crowd of locals and national media in this typical New England town.

We got out of the pickup and walked back to the trailer behind us. Mounted on the trailer was an A-shaped frame that stood ten feet high and was sixteen feet long. The A-frame itself was a skeleton of pipes on which large signs could be mounted.

This was the maiden voyage of the billboard on wheels which would come to be known as our "Truthmobile."

As the town slept, we wrestled to put up the vinyl which was stiff and cold and made unwieldy by the wind and sleet. Finally we had our signs mounted, one on each side of the A-frame. In large white letters on a bright red background the signs read: "Immigration is doubling U.S. population in your child's lifetime." Below it gave the source, the U.S. Census Bureau, and our website address: www.projectUSA.org.

After daybreak, McCain's "Straight Talk Express" campaign bus arrived and parked right behind us. The Senator went in, gave a speech, and then took questions from the audience. One local woman in the audience, with whom we had been speaking before McCain's appearance, expressed her view that immigrants should learn English (reinforcing the view expressed in these pages by K. C. McAlpin that "language is the entry-point for the immigration debate").[1]

"Regarding that sign outside," the Senator answered the woman, "I want to make it clear I do not support illegal immigration but I am unalterably opposed to reducing current levels of legal immigration."

We were ecstatic. On our first try we had successfully inserted the very important issue of immigration into the presidential campaign.

Over the next several months we took the Truthmobile to dozens of candidates' appearances (and college campuses) in New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Michigan. (To watch a humorous video of George W. Bush "answering" a question on immigration I asked him at a high school in New Hampshire, visit www.vdare.com.)

Everywhere we went we discovered that, while the campaigners themselves weren't especially happy to see us show up, the local citizenry was very supportive of our message and our efforts. While we were threatened twice with arrest by the Secret Service at Al Gore events, the local police would wink and point out the best place to set up our signs — and even some of the Secret Service agents gave us words of encouragement *sotto voce*.

There didn't seem to be a major difference in the reaction to our mobile billboard between Republican and Democrat events, but Republican audiences did seem to be noticeably less likely to link our immigration information to race. It is possible that in the cross-party support for our position on limiting immigration lies a key to the future of American policy.

In the spring of 2000 we set up the Truthmobile at a Republican Party state convention in Grand Rapids, Michigan, featuring then-senator Spencer

***Craig Nelsen** is president of ProjectUSA, an educational organization (www.projectusa.com). He became concerned about American overpopulation when he returned home after a two-year stint in China teaching English.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Abraham, an open borders extremist who chaired the immigration sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Conventioneers — presumably party stalwarts — when questioned about the senator's position on immigration, said privately that, while they liked the senator on other issues, they disagreed with him on immigration.

Throughout the primary season, and later in Michigan in the weeks leading up to the November election, in dozens of radio interviews and in conversations with reporters, college students, and just plain folks, the quiet and general consensus was that current levels of immigration are too high — particularly when people heard the numbers.

The bright red Truthmobile as it was set up in Michigan, fall 2000.

Unfortunately, a taboo associated with race exists around the immigration issue that makes it very difficult for Americans to discuss any change in policy. For many Americans, including Americans in the media, immigration is bound up with the skin color of those entering the country. This prevents much-needed discussion and public awareness of the sheer numbers coming in.

Our experience with the Truthmobile indicates that if the immigration issue can be raised to a prominent place in the national dialogue, the force of public opinion will reinforce our position that immigration should no longer be adding significantly to the population of the United States — that our country needs to close the book on the immigration part of our history. We found that it is not that our position is unpopular, it just simply isn't mentioned.

Part of the value of our Truthmobile is that it helps break the taboo — it opens up public debate. A big red billboard on wheels is hard to ignore and often excites comment. And even though our slogans focus strictly on the numbers, they are routinely attacked — by ethnic identity activists, by politicians, and sometimes by the press — as "racist." The publicity and debate generated by the Truthmobile helps "slay the dragon" by illustrating the absurdity of our opponents' position, since our slogans have nothing to do with race.

Our experiences in Michigan bear this out. During the heat of the last election, in South Lyon, Michigan, a small businessman, after reading about us in the newspaper, contacted us and offered to allow us to park the Truthmobile on his property, which was situated on a well-traveled street. After the board was set up, a single caller complained to the local zoning officer that the sign was "racist." The frightened officer immediately began an expensive ticketing blitz that quickly racked up thousands of dollars in fines. (The officer clearly overreacted, and when the case went to court several months later, the judge reduced the fine to just $315 for exceeding size limits.)

Meanwhile, in the week leading up to the election, the controversy surrounding the Truthmobile and the tickets it was receiving resulted in news articles, evening news stories, and interviews on Michigan radio stations — publicity worth far more than a few hundred dollars in fines. The publicity generated helped raise the issue of immigration in the public consciousness just before the election — an election that featured Senator Abraham as a candidate who had been effectively linked to mass immigration through the advertising efforts of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), NumbersUSA, MichImPac, and others.

While there is no formal data on what effect this controversy had in the election, the senator's polls plummeted in the last weeks of the campaign from what had been a double-digit lead, and he ended up losing the election. The issue, according to anecdotal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evidence, was widely discussed among the "politically active" and "lesser disseminators" in the Michigan citizenry. For example, Tom Moody of Farmington, one of our Michigan supporters, told us that months after the election his wife was riding in a car with a co-worker at her new job and, out of the blue, not knowing her position on immigration policy, he said, "Remember that sign about immigration in South Lyon? I don't think that was racist."

K. C. McAlpin has pointed out in *The Social Contract*[1] that Americans feel their culture is under attack. And he is right. Unfortunately, the easy confusion of race and culture has disarmed Americans, leaving them without the language to express their unease with an immigration policy that now has us growing at a faster rate than China as our commonality slowly erodes.

The great nineteenth century philosopher, Alexis de Tocqueville claimed that public opinion is sovereign in the United States. We agree and feel the kind of citizen activism the Truthmobile represents can have a strong and important influence on public opinion and immigration policy. Grassroots activism like that represented by the Truthmobile seems to "free" public opinion to express its unease while at the same time refining the arguments in the debate.

Our efforts continue. This past March 31, the Truthmobile made an appearance at an event at Simpson College near Des Moines, Iowa. The event was called "Immigration: Our Bridge to the Future" and featured workshops with titles including "Is There Hope for the Undocumented Worker?," "The Response of Local Churches to Sojourners,"[2] "We Are All Immigrants," and "Iowa Lays Out the Welcome Mat."

Participants included the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, the Iowa Division of Latino Affairs, the Immigrant Rights Project for the American Friends Service Committee, and various professors.

A small group of six concerned Iowans set up the Truthmobile at 9:00 a.m. in a parking lot at the entrance to the hall in which the workshops were being held and spent the next seven hours handing out literature and being interviewed by newspaper and television reporters.

At 4:00 p.m., Iowa governor Tom Vilsak addressed the conferees. (Vowing to turn Iowa into a new Ellis Island, Governor Vilsak recently made national news for suggesting that Iowa place itself above federal immigration law and be exempted from U.S. limits on mass immigration. He has since backed off that position in the face of criticism and ridicule.)

The small group of mass immigration dissenters went inside the hall and listened to the governor give a speech on the moral duty of Americans to endure mass immigration. Afterward, the governor took questions from the audience and Jay Gardner, a grassroots activist, asked a question about the wisdom of mass immigration after first pointing out that he didn't want to hear the old canard about being "anti-immigrant" since his wife is, in fact, a Guatemalan immigrant. He noted that he and many other Americans are anti-immigration, not anti-immigrant. That important distinction was broadcast on at least one television station in Des Moines that evening.

The governor was visibly displeased, especially when the next questioner, a Hispanic female attorney, also raised the objection that current, record-breaking mass immigration is hurting recent immigrants most.

After that, the governor took no more questions, the Iowa crew disbanded, and the Truthmobile was towed to Mason City, Iowa, a town that has been declared a special immigrant zone by the governor. The Truthmobile has been set up there on private property next to a busy highway.

We feel confident that this type of citizen activism is very constructive. It is raising the importance of the issue in the minds of average Iowans while breaking the taboo against talking about immigration. Plus it is getting an important statistic out there (with the help of the media) that "Immigration is doubling U.S. population in your child's lifetime." This helps Americans not only to talk about immigration but also to know *how* to talk about it. And in Iowa, it was done for less than two hundred dollars. ■

NOTES

[1] K.C. McAlpin, "Language As the Entry Point for the Debate," *The Social Contract*, Vol. XI, No. 2, Winter 2001, p. 123.

[2] See the article on the churches' misuse of the term "sojourners" by Edwin Childress in this issue, p. 206.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Midas Century

Ready or not, its time will come

by William R. Catton, Jr.

From the end of the second World War to the end of the twentieth century, Americans lived in a golden age. The GI Bill made housing, job training, and university educations available to millions. People began roaming the world at jet speed. Freeways and homes with two- or three-car garages were built. Computers came, and the Internet. Satellites were put into orbit, bringing instant global news images into living rooms and week-at-a-time weather forecasting. Human explorers landed on the moon and mechanical ones on Mars. Antibiotics and new vaccines prolonged lives. And average incomes rose to undreamed-of heights.

> The government assembled by George W. Bush does not understand the important implications of demographic change for the environment and its carrying capacity.

So, as we clumped together in burgeoning cities, our Midas-like achievements shrank the world, lengthened commuting times, fouled the air we breathed, punctured the ozone shield, turned up the greenhouse effect, undermined American railroads, reduced postal service to a delivery arm of the advertising industry, put us all within range of nuclear war-headed missiles, doubled American numbers, more than doubled populations elsewhere, widened gaps between rich nations and poor, and accelerated migration.

Enter George W. Bush, ascending to the American presidency at a time when the world needs leaders who can think in ecological terms to cope with the effects of a finite biosphere now being subjected to exploitation by an unprecedented human load with gargantuan technological appetites and impacts.

His father came to the White House in 1989 when the world was home to just under 5.2 billion people. The global population then was already double what it had been at the end of World War II, and even with most not yet partaking of American levels of resource consumption there was already worldwide distress about Earth's capacity to accommodate such a load. The elder George Bush was president of a country with a population of 246 millions. By the time his son, George W. Bush, assumed the presidency on 20 January 2001 world population had passed the six billion mark. Just the twelve-year increment in the number of Earth's living humans was almost four times what the U.S. population had been when the first Bush took the same oath. Yet one of the new president's first actions, as if population pressure were so remote it was not worth consideration, was to stop U.S. financial support for family planning agencies that countenance abortion.

As choices for cabinet appointments indicated, this second Bush government lacks comprehension of the importance of such demographic changes or their implications for humanity's future. Alien to the vocabularies of America's new leaders are such vital concepts as carrying capacity, sustainability, global environmental change, even per capita environmental impact. Is society a part of, or apart from, an ecosystem? Do the people of the Bush administration even sense how significant is the ecosystem concept? The idea that population growth, by overshooting carrying capacity, damages our future may be inconceivable to them. They have so far shown no comprehension of the fact that an increasingly serious ecological deficit challenges the world. That concept is not part of their vocabulary, yet ecological deficits happen when species populations increase to the point of using some vital resource faster than it can be

William R. Catton, Jr. *is professor emeritus of sociology at Washington State University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supplied by ecosystem processes. In the exuberance arising from their predecessors and Congress having put fiscal deficits behind us, the Bush team is preoccupied with projected federal fiscal surpluses with which they seek to legitimize a huge and still controversial tax cut. That cut is rationalized as a means of restimulating a faltering economy, regardless of what has already been done by that economy to a finite biosphere. Is society the servant of an economy? Or is an economy a servant of society? Can either be independent of the global ecosystem?

America prides itself on having led the world in many ways. One of the better instances of our country's world leadership, respected around the world, was our 1872 invention of an institution embodying the very concept of sustainable use of an environment. National parks are that institution — areas set aside from economic exploitation, to be managed with the aim of protecting "the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein" while providing for the enjoyment of them "in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." Mistakes have occurred in practice, but this has not prevented scores of other countries from embracing the fundamental idea and seeking to emulate the U.S. National Park Service (NPS).

The second Bush administration's commitment to other goals seems to leave it flagrantly unmindful of such environmental values. One vivid indicator: Within its first hundred days the Bush Administration was responding to a growing industry wish list for weaker environmental standards — even in the nation's (and the world's) original national park, reflecting disregard for the sanctity of a place dedicated by an Act of Congress and ratified by better than a century of tradition. The phrase "leave them unimpaired" was an early and prescient expression of the issue of sustainability. Sustainability is the key element in today's conception of an ecosystem's carrying capacity, or the load an ecosystem can endure indefinitely, not just briefly. Proposals by the second Bush administration for "meeting the nation's energy needs" reveal little if any understanding that sustainability can be an issue.

In the National Parks, as on other tracts of land, it turns out there can be serious damage from overuse or misuse. The national park version of the sustainability issue thus serves as a symbol of the key dilemma of a world of six billion seeking to universalize an industrially ravenous lifestyle. But it is also more than symbolic. People increasingly need the respite these special places provide from the pressures of a crowded and chaotic life. Accordingly, spokespersons for the Wilderness Society, the National Parks Conservation Association, and the Greater Yellowstone Coalition deplored the move by the new leaders in Washington

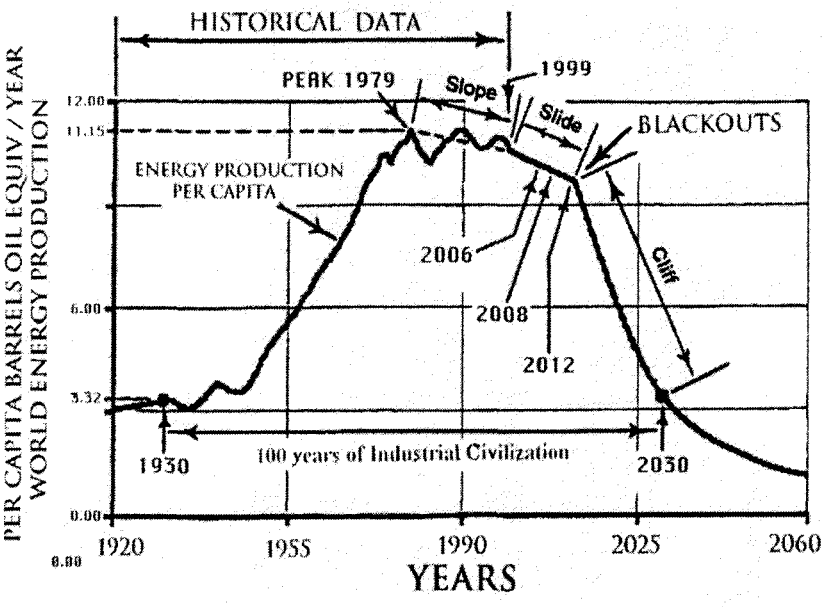
"...within its first hundred days the Bush Administration was responding to a growing industry wish list for weaker environmental standards..."

to abandon that "preserve them unimpaired" commitment of the National Park Service. Shortly before the previous administration left office, the NPS announced that admission of snowmobiles to Yellowstone would be "phased out." This was in response to escalating snowmobile-related problems in Yellowstone, the world's first national park, and to concerns expressed in twenty-two public hearings and tens of thousands of citizen comments critical of noise, air pollution, and disturbance of wildlife by these machines. Future winter access to the park would instead use "safer, quieter and less-polluting" snowcoaches, to be piloted by drivers trained to respect wildlife and to share with passengers their knowledge about the park.

At this writing it remains to be seen whether the NPS will be allowed to serve the public interest or required to be subservient to the interest of a particular industry. Whatever the local outcome, on a larger stage the question is this: Will future Americans still take pride if their nation's leaders take the world down the slippery slope of ecological excess, culminating in such biosphere damage that even a greatly reduced world population will face impoverished lives?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The U.S. has the third largest population among the world's nations, a rather distant third at that. But we rank first in the world in generating some ecologically destructive by-products of what we define as prosperity. We used to rank fourth in population, when the Soviet Union was in third place. Its break-up left its largest republic, Russia, as a nation somewhat less populous than ourselves That political change moved us up a rank without having diminished the global human load. Now, though, the only two countries "ahead" of us in population are China and India. India's numbers have very recently reached one billion. As if that alone were not appalling enough, China's population is roughly equal to that of India plus the United States. What would it do to the world if per capita resource consumption and per capita effluent emission in those two countries were to reach the American level?



Significant dates:

1930 The year energy per capita first reached one-third of its peak
1979 The year world energy production per capita peaked
1999 The end of cheap oil
2006 Predicted peak of world oil production
2008 OPEC oil henceforth exceeds non-OPEC oil
2012 Permanent blackouts occur
2030 Predicted date when energy per capita returns to its 1930 level

Source: Adapted from Duncan, 2001

Figure 1.

George W. Bush presides over a nation about twice as populous as it was when he was born, but with only about four and a half percent of the world's people. By means of their prodigal economy, those four and a half percent emit more than five times as much climate-changing CO^2 per capita as the world average per capita emission. Scientists tell us present accumulations of greenhouse gases are already increasing the frequency and severity of storms, have started raising sea levels, will alter growing seasons, and will disruptively shift the locations of arable regions. Dare we, the planet's inhabitants, continue increasing our aggregate quantity of fossil fuel combustion? George W. Bush seems to think so. Having first scoffed at California's recent electricity woes, he subsequently latched onto them as a means of justifying the proposal to drill for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Difficulties once again labeled "the energy crisis" may also serve as a rationale for rescinding National Monument status accorded by Bush's predecessor to lands now coveted for oil and gas exploration.

European leaders voiced sorrow and anger when the second President Bush announced U.S. abandonment of the Kyoto treaty on global warming when the new administration was just over two months old. Bush's insistence that a healthy American economy was more important than global climate stability was front page news across Europe. The Kyoto agreement had called for industrial countries to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases to 5.2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

percent below 1990 levels by 2012. After meeting with German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder Bush "explained" the abandonment by declaring, "We will not do anything that harms our economy, because first things first are the people who live in America."

Ostensibly, what the administration objects to is the fact that Kyoto exempted the non-industrial countries from emission limits. How could Bush imagine, though, that U.S. abandonment of the Kyoto agreement could possibly help persuade non-industrial nations to accept limits, especially when the rebuff represents American insistence on "Not doing anything that harms our economy"?

Bush seems unable to recognize the perils his policies will deepen. As world population marches on toward seven billion, with some "developing countries" coming closer to practicing the prodigal ways of "developed" ones like us, the course President Bush plans to follow will hasten the global approach

"Imported oil has become a permanent material and economic fact of life, and the U.S. no longer controls the price."

to catastrophe. Life had a golden glow as we ascended the slope on the left side of Figure 1, but as Richard C. Duncan explained in a keynote presentation to the 2000 meeting of the Geological Society of America, we are closer to falling off the cliff on the right than most people realize. President Bush and his colleagues seem unware that any such downslope is out there.

It was alleged during the 2000 election campaign that George W. Bush was averse to reading books. Acceding to his reputed preference for brief position papers, one could wish that he might at least read and ponder the farewell address given by an esteemed Republican predecessor, Dwight Eisenhower. Although it was the address that implanted in the American political vocabulary the phrase "military-industrial complex" (as the ex-general warned future Congresses and electorates to beware of its "acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought"), that January 1961 speech contained another, equally prophetic, warning:

> *We — you and I, and our government — must avoid...plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage.*

The second Bush administration seems bent on incurring the unseen consequences of just such a plundering of tomorrow's resources.

If it were possible to persuade President Bush to read at least a pair of mind-changing books, perhaps he should begin with one written half a century ago by the grandson of Charles Darwin. According to Charles Galton Darwin's *The Next Million Years*, "The central feature of human history must always be the pressure of population." Leaders who understood that might understand many of the ills of our time. "There will be," he said, "a fraction of humanity, a starving margin, who have got to die," as a result of numbers exceeding carrying capacity. Deaths would result from intermittent famines, diseases caused by malnutrition, or warfare in quest of other countries' resources, but no nation, C. G. Darwin foresaw, will

> *tolerate living in contact with the sufferings of its own starving margin, if it is in any way possible to relieve them. The relief will all too frequently involve bad agricultural practice which will ruin the land in the long run, but [as early actions of the new Bush regime seem to confirm] short-term necessity will always prevail against long-term prudence.*

To become convinced of the immanence of that downward slope in Figure 1, the other book George W. Bush, a former Texas oil company executive, should carefully read and discuss with his Cabinet, especially his Energy Secretary, is petroleum geologist Walter Youngquist's 1997 *GeoDestinies,* subtitled *The Inevitable Control of Earth Resources over Nations and Individuals*. Because a liquid fuel can be so convenient, oil has become the key energy basis for modern economies. But Bush's eagerness to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

encourage more oil drilling on American land might be diminished if he read (p.179) that the U.S. is already "the most thoroughly oil-explored and drilled nation in the world." At the time of writing, "About 4,600,000 wells for oil and gas have been drilled in the world. Of this number approximately 3,400,000 or about 74 percent have been drilled in the United States." As a result, there was a truly awesome contrast in "production" capabilities between the U.S. and elsewhere. In 1992, the United States extracted 2.6 billion barrels of oil from 602,000 wells, while Saudi Arabia drew 2.9 billion barrels from only 1,400 wells.

As Youngquist reminds us on p. 183 of *GeoDestinies* we drill deeper than we used to and find less oil. "In the United States during the early 1930s, about 250 barrels of recoverable oil were found per foot drilled. By the 1950s, this figure had decreased to about 40 barrels a foot, and by 1981, it was down to 6.9 barrels..." He says it seems certain that the U.S. will never again be able to extract from its own territory enough oil to supply its own oil needs. "Imported oil has become a permanent material and economic fact of life, and the U.S. no longer controls the price."

Is there any possibility that the second Bush administration will strive to cure our addiction to high-energy living, or will it persist in reinforcing that addiction? "Reason and clear recognition of reality must prevail," says Youngquist, if our society is to survive (p. 448). "The political leadership especially must be able to correctly differentiate between the possible and the absurd. This is particularly important when it comes to decisions relative to the foundations of civilization — the energy and mineral resources upon which everything else depends." And the longer we ignore the major effects of our fossil fuel habit, such as global climate change, the higher will rise the costs it must inflict upon the world, according to George Woodwell, the ecologist who heads the Woods Hole Research Center in Massachusetts.

In the March 1999 issue of *Population and Environment* Youngquist also pointed out that determining the precise date when our slide down that slippery slope of diminishing energy availability will have begun is *less* important than recognizing how drastically different life will be going down than coming up. Rather than expending effort "debating the date of the peak," we must recognize that "the beginning of an irreversible permanent time beyond petroleum is coming into view. One fact makes this crystal clear. The world now uses about 26 billion barrels of oil a year, but, in new field discoveries we are finding less than six billion. The world is going out of the oil business. Then what?"

One reason for serious concern is that, despite all progress, human beings who must face the onset of that downward slide retain a capacity for "inhuman" animosities. Golden Ages have had sad aftermaths.

Perhaps the approach taken by the second Bush administration will simply epitomize the myopic opportunism of fabled King Midas. We members of the species called *Homo sapiens* continue to share with all creatures the prodigal tendency to proliferate too much. It has led us, like that king (who, together with his subjects, paid a heavy price), into the temptations of this Midas century, the end of which now looms just over the horizon. ■

REFERENCES

Darwin, Charles Galton. 1953. *The Next Million Years.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday. [Greenwood Press reprint, 1973.]

Duncan, Richard C. 2001. "The Peak of World Oil Production and the Road to the Olduvai Gorge." forthcoming in *Population and Environment: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies.*

Eisenhower, Dwight D. 1961. "Liberty Is at Stake." *Vital Speeches of the Day,* 27 (February 1): 228-230.

Youngquist, Walter. 1997. *GeoDestinies: The Inevitable Control of Earth Resources Over Nations and Individuals.* Portland, OR: National Book Company.

Youngquist, Walter. 1999. "The Post-Petroleum Paradigm — and Population." *Population and Environment. A Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies,* 20 (March): 297-316.

Woodwell, George M. 2001. "Fiddling While the World Bums: An ecologist speaks on the rising costs of ignoring global warming." *Amicus Journal,* 23 (Spring): 30-32.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Earth Day 2001

The forces that drive this world

by Mark Wegierski

This past April 22 was the thirty-first anniversary of Earth Day. The first Earth Day, which took place in 1970 and capped the ferment of the 1960s, arose from the efforts of Senator Gaylord Nelson and involved some twenty million people in the United States. Senator Nelson writes at the Wilderness Society website, "After all, a nation's capital (its wealth, so to speak) is the air, water, soil, forests, minerals, rivers, lakes, oceans, scenic beauty, wildlife habitats and biodiversity. Take this away and all you have left is wasteland." The Wilderness Society says, "Our goal is to ensure that future generations will enjoy the clean air and water, wildlife, beauty and opportunities for recreation and renewal that pristine forests, rivers, deserts, and mountains provide."

There is such a massive "disconnect" between the various ecological, population control, immigration and national identity issues.

It is unfortunate that in current society there is such a massive "disconnect" between the various ecological, population control, immigration, and national identity issues. The British political theorist John Gray (formerly at Oxford, now at the London School of Economics) has argued for more convergence of profoundly ecological and profoundly traditionalist thought — "an agenda for Green Conservatism." The themes considered below, seen as the main "forces that drive this world," are discussed in a way that hopefully moves beyond conventional definitions of Left and Right.

The common attacks on ecology by the right wing, their derisive attitudes to so-called "tree huggers," their harping questioning of the massive, well-documented impact of many types of pollution and environmental destruction, and their embrace of growth mania and economism are clearly insalubrious. At the same time, the unwillingness of many left-wing environmentalists to contemplate issues of population and immigration control is unhelpful to truly saving the environment. There also occurs the vesting of all notions of ecological goodness onto Third World populations, whereas the reality is that Europeans are usually far more concerned with ecological issues and environmental preservation today.

TECHNOLOGY: Everyone knows about the colossal impact of computers and the Internet. What about cloning? What about genetic engineering? What about nanotechnology and computer-based artificial intelligence (AI)? What about chemical and nuclear pollution? Technology has been driving forward in a surging progression that only appears to increase, the further on it goes. It may appear that people themselves have long ago lost control of it. According to ecological thinkers like Arne Naess, the technosphere is devouring the ecosphere. Canadian philosopher George Grant has argued (following the ideas of the French critic of technology Jacques Ellul) that the cumulative, dehumanizing effects of previous advances in technology will tend to impose on human beings the ways in which any new technology will be developed and used. Bill Joy, chief software architect at Sun Microsystems, has warned of the possible perils of AI, nanotechnology, and genetic engineering in the April 2000 issue of *Wired.*

OVERPOPULATION, URBANIZATION AND MIGRATION: People are living in larger and larger cities, whether in North America, Western Europe, the former Eastern bloc countries, the Third World, or East Asia. They are also moving around the planet far more than at any other time in history. The diverse, crowded-together urban environment is one that usually undermines

---

Mark Wegierski *is a Toronto-based writer and historian, frequently for* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attachments to traditional family, country, and religion, and also places great strains on natural systems. Mega-urbanization, environmental degradation, and mass migration are predicted to be the major components of "the coming anarchy" (Robert D. Kaplan).

MEDIA AND THE CONSUMERIST MESSAGE: Now becoming increasingly electronic, mass media are tending to establish themselves as self-contained, borderless, worldwide empires and *virtual realities.* With the abandonment of "bounded horizons" (F. W. Nietzsche) or of rooted, reflective particularity (Edmund Burke), and the embrace of polymorphous limitlessness, it truly is becoming "a world without boundaries" (a favored slogan of so many advertising campaigns). The information traffic most people are caught in today tends to create a postmodern blur. It is a global *empire*, not a "global village" (Marshall McLuhan). There is occurring in the media a corporate and consumption-driven "colonization of the lifeworld" (Jürgen Habermas) — for example, the frenzied pursuit of "cool" through commodity-fetishism (now focusing not so much on the physical product as on its image, brand, or label). American pop-culture becomes the global culture. A low-grade English pushes out other languages, which often appear — with all their distinctive formality — far less suited to a hyper-technological world dominated by consumer-tribes. Everyone knows who the pop star Madonna is, whether they want to or not. Even many highly traditional societies appear unable to resist these kinds of pressures. As we are "amusing ourselves to death" under the "technopoly," there is now occurring "the disappearance of childhood" and "the end of education" (Neil Postman).

TRIBALISM: One of the major responses to the loss of traditional outlooks today, tribalism is expressed in fervent religious or ethnic fundamentalism. It also appears in North America as ethnic separatism. This is the multifaceted and many-colored "Jihad against McWorld" (Benjamin J. Barber).

VIOLENCE: This is an element occurring in nearly every part of the world, from L.A. gangs to Bosnia to Colombian druglords to Russian Mafia to Rwanda and it generally is growing worse. In nearly every part of the world, sovereign states are losing out to informal and irregular groupings and widespread corruption tending towards "Brazilification" (Douglas Coupland). There is a multi-dimensional assault against the traditional nation-state. As the nation-state appears unable to cope with civil conflict, it is even less able to defend the environment.

How might it all end?

Look at the world portrayed in Ridley Scott's dark-future movie *Blade Runner* (based on Philip K. Dick's *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?*). Read Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World.* Read Anthony Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange* (film by Stanley Kubrick). Read William Gibson's *Neuromancer*, the classic cyberpunk novel, portraying a highly polluted world ruled mostly by mega-corporations. Earth's future is very unlikely to resemble the cheery, techno-utopia portrayed in *Star Trek.*

What can we do about it?

Stop the wheels. Embrace the idea of limits in an out-of-control world. Embrace being, not having. Love nature and your roots. Become involved in your traditional heritage, but in a reflective, not fanatical, way. Try to read more serious books, especially those related to your own roots and history. Consider beginning or building on a religious engagement complementary to your roots and heartfelt spiritual longings — while eschewing fanaticism. Try to reduce the number of hours you watch television. Don't try to turn your computer into another television. Use the Internet mostly for serious e-mail and research, not graphical amusements. Become involved in ecology, but in a constructive, not hysterical, way. Make conscious decisions to reduce your consumption and enslavement to fashion trends. Consciously resist total immersion in pop-culture. Try to combine love of your own heritage, country, and local community, with love of nature as a whole. Insist in public discussion that politicians begin to take these concerns seriously. Begin sending letters to the editor, and writing your thoughts and ideas down. Join with people who feel as you do.

A saner, safer, less hurried world — "of less noise and more green" (J. R. R. Tolkien) — may somehow be brought into existence. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Environment and Population: Perspectives

by Jack Parsons

My brief is to address the question of perspectives on population and environmental issues. That is to say, ways of looking at these problems. I view this as a considerable honor and address the task in all humility, what I have to say being largely a personal gloss on illuminating ideas about related aspects of human affairs put forward by some of our illustrious European forebears. These range from the Norwegian, Ibsen, the Dane, Hans Christian Andersen, and the Scot, David Hume, in the North, down to Plato and Aristotle in the South by way of the Frenchmen Voltaire and Durkheim, the Italian economist Ferdinando Galiani, the American/naturalized-British poet T. S. Eliot, and yet others.

My brief does not encompass the population/environmental issues themselves, merely ways of viewing them, so I offer no further documentation on the enormous explosion in human numbers, widespread poverty, hunger, unemployment, and illiteracy, low life-expectancy, conflict over scarce resources (increasingly over fresh water supplies), pollution, over-exploitation of fish stocks, the imminent peaking of oil production, mass migration, implosive urbanization, the ozone hole, CO^2 emissions and global warming, natural catastrophes — including the risk of major asteroid strikes — and so forth, ad nauseam.

***Jack Parsons** is former deputy director at the Sir David Owen Population Centre, Cardiff University. He is now working as an independent researcher, consultant, and writer.* *This paper is an abridgement of a presentation made to the Interparliamentary Conference on Demographic Change & Sustainable Development under the aegis of the Council of Europe Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography given at the Palace of the Parliament, Bucharest, Romania, on 21-23 October 1999. It was published in both English and French as a proceeding of the conference by the Council of Europe, Strasbourg. AS/Mig (2000) 24, p. 58-68.*

Perspectives: Functional and Dysfunctional

A fundamental component of the perspective that most of us adopt vis-à-vis our own little lives here on Planet Earth is that the latter is a very solid and enduring entity. We are all familiar with the Latin phrase "terra firma," but in English we have many words and phrases that emphasize this theme. To show that some person, or thing, is strong, reliable, or permanent we say that she/he or it is "down to earth," on "firm ground," or "rock-solid." The ultimate assertion (with apologies to our Spanish friends) is that an entity is "like the Rock of Gibraltar." The Germans have "felsenfest," and similar expressions can be found in other languages.

Of course, compared with many of the rapidly shifting phenomena we see about us, some earth-properties do have notably greater stability and permanence. Nevertheless, I insist that, vis-a-vis the more fundamental and longer-term management aspects of human social systems and their environments, the "solid-as-a-rock" perspective is fatally flawed.

At the beginning of the Christian era, Ovid wrote in his *Metamorphoses*: "What was solid earth has become sea, and solid ground has issued from the bosom of the waters." In 1742, that great Scotsman, the hardheaded empiricist, David Hume, opened his essay, "Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations," with the words:

> *There is very little ground, either from reason or observation, to conclude the world eternal or incorruptible. The continual and rapid motion*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> *of matter, the violent revolutions with which every part is agitated, the changes marked in the heavens, the plain traces...of a universal deluge, or general convulsion of the elements;...prove strongly the mortality of this fabric of the world; and its passage, by corruption or dissolution, from one state...to another.*

Surely it is a total absurdity for us to assume, and to plan for, a more or less fixed and unchanging natural world.

Perspectives on Problem-Solving

Another key element in the perspective we bring to bear on human affairs is the way we perceive problems. We generally believe that problems are there to be solved. They develop, we perceive and analyze them, propose and apply solutions, and they disappear, we hope, only to be supplanted by fresh problems to be solved in their turn. This principle does apply well in some fields — in mathematics, for instance — but by no means in all; assuredly not in socioeconomic systems.

My favorite quotation in the population field, from the writings of the distinguished American anthropologist Margaret Mead, goes as follows:

> *Every human society is faced with not one population problem, but with two: how to beget and rear enough children, and how not to beget and rear too many* (1962, *Male &Female,* p.210).

Mead's observation underlines the hard fact that the population problem has no ultimate solution. Unless we extinguish ourselves — or Nature does it for us — it cannot, ever, be finally resolved, and this outcome may seem to set a distinctly dismal tone for the rest of my talk. But that impression is neither intended nor inescapable. What *is* inescapable is the fact that the population problem is, and must remain, an *ongoing* problem. Both the writings of the ancients (notably Plato and Aristotle, especially the latter) and the elders of traditional societies tell us that it always *has* been with us, while common sense continually reminds us (if we allow it to) that it always will be with us.

In everyday parlance, addressing the population problem involves a balancing act; in cybernetic terms, a tracking-task; one that we must continue to solve as long as our species survives. This is the first property that an appropriate "perspective" must possess.

Various Mental Perspectives

The next requisite is a sensible mental attitude, and the three main choices open to us are optimism, pessimism, and realism. Let us examine each of these, the optimistic school first.

THE OPTIMISTIC SCHOOL

Optimists look about themselves and see many good things — some manifestly better than they were in the recent past, much more so vis-a-vis the *distant* past. They ignore or play down the not-so-good things and often go on to outdo even Voltaire's Dr. Pangloss. His philosophy — "everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds," implies that since everything is already "for the best," i.e., is perfect, there is no room for improvement and therefore no need for change.

The truly intoxicated optimist, however, proclaims that since nearly everything is so wonderful, we must have more and more of it. Ever more people living ever-longer lives, ever- wealthier, consuming ever-more goods and services and becoming ever-happier in the process.

This may at first sound like a travesty, but many powerful individuals and institutions openly proclaim such a philosophy, or tacitly subsume it in their thoughts, speeches, and actions. Among these are (or were; some are no longer with us) the eminent British economist, Colin Clark, who advocated an increase in the world population to 346 billions — nearly 60 times its present size — before we began to ship off the ever-increasing surplus to live on space-satellites or other planets (1958 and 1969). Clark was a Roman Catholic of the old school, and a right-wing opponent of birth control, but super-optimism is by no means confined to that side.

The atheistic Left has often been even more optimistic. At the 1965 World Population Conference, the Soviet demographer, Malin, argued that, properly managed (i.e., under communism), the world could support a population up to 4,000 millions, getting on for 700 times its present size. Even these heroic extrapolations imply, however remotely, that there are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eventual limits to resources and population growth on earth; but today's standard-bearers for the optimistic school, however, don't believe in limits at all.

In his 1991 report to the World Bank, the Chief Economist, Lawrence Summers, claimed:

> *There are no...limits to the carrying capacity of the earth...in the foreseeable future...the idea that we should put limits on growth...is profoundly wrong.*

This does contain a hint that in the *un*foreseeable future limits *might* materialize, but the American patron saint of the Cornucopian school, the late professor Julian Simon, went beyond even this, taking many influential people and a large segment of public opinion with him. He claimed not merely that there *are* no limits, but that the very *concept* of limits is devoid of meaning:

> *There is no...physical limit...even the commonly mentioned weight of the earth...to our capacity to keep growing forever...*(1981, p. 346).
>
> *...the assumption of finitude.. not only is not self-evident, but...vacuous* (1986, p. 203).

For Simon, we human beings ourselves *constitute* the main resource, so that, by definition, the more of us there are, the greater must be the supply of resources and the wealthier and happier we all must be. It is tempting to conclude that opinions like these are so grotesquely exaggerated that they should be ignored, but the sad fact is that in various forms they are both widespread and influential.

Sadly, most of us, most of the time, want to hear not awkward facts and discouraging trends but good news, what the optimists indefatigably purvey. As the American/British poet T. S. Eliot drily observed, "Humankind cannot bear very much reality." President Reagan's population guru was none other than Professor Simon, whose unbridled optimism may have been a key factor in the serious undermining of U.S. support for world voluntary family planning.

THE PESSIMISTIC SCHOOL

The logical opposite of unbridled optimism seems to be an equally unbridled pessimism, sometimes called "doomwatching." As far as I am aware there is no comparable "mirror-image" *school* of pessimists that postulates a headlong rush towards some great, inevitable, and more or less universal catastrophe, possibly spelling the end of civilization — even the extinction of *Homo sapiens*. The best-known "pessimist," so-called, is probably Malthus. In a good part of Europe a derivative of his name (*Malthusien* in French) is now a label for any unpleasant and dysfunctional form of negativity, and not merely in the population sphere. In the English version of his major work, *General Theory of Population,* the doyen of French demography Alfred Sauvy claimed that "Malthusianism is a kind of atrophy of the creative spirit" (1969, p. 232).

"...today's standard bearers of the optimistic school don't believe in limits at all."

This was a travesty of Malthus' character and theory, but his detractors generally pay very little heed to what he actually thought and wrote. In fact, he was a radical social reformer — that is to say, his perspective was much more optimistic than pessimistic. He was a powerful advocate of universal education and of civil and political liberty, for instance. He thought that things had, and could well continue, to get better, and he strongly favored nonstop social and economic development, coupled with substantial population growth — always provided that this was not accompanied by increasing poverty and suffering (see Parsons, 2000).

A school of "pessimists," if it existed, would probably include Professor Paul Ehrlich, also — author of the influential book *The Population Bomb,* published in 1968 — and the MIT research group, headed by Meadows, which published the outcome of its "Limits to Growth" studies in 1972. While it is true that these and other authorities forecast dire consequences if the trends continued they would be more accurately classified under my third heading, that of the realists, because they argue — along with Malthus — that destructive trends are neither

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inevitable nor acceptable but that it is our bounden duty to recognize and change them.

THE REALISTIC SCHOOL — THE THREE KEY VARIABLES

Realists try to deal with reality, and it is obvious that most efforts should be concentrated on the most important aspects of reality. In the order in which they trip most readily off the tongue (at least in English), the three key variables in this field are population, resources, and the quality of human life. From our parochial human perspective the most important of these is the latter, but this cannot be dissociated from the other two, population and resources, and it is most realistically appreciated when sandwiched firmly between them.

Most of the concerns expressed nominally about human *numbers* stem directly from a deeper concern for human *quality of life.* In any given ecosystem there is a quantity of population and of resources — both of various kinds — and the interaction of these two sets of variables determines the quality of life of the people comprising that population at that time.

Most of the commentators who are labeled "pessimists" by the "optimists" really belong under this "realist" heading. While emphasizing the obvious impossibility for some of the trends to continue for long — notably rapid growth in both population and individual consumption — realists argue that most trends, good and bad alike, are potentially controllable. They further advocate policies to reinforce the good trends and to correct those that are damaging.

One of the oft-adopted refuges of the enemies of realism is "complexity." We are told, in and out of season, that population, social, and economic interactions are so complex that no clear inferences may be made, certainly not that excess population pressure causes poverty.

Alfred Sauvy demolished this feeble rationalization when he wrote the following,

> *As well as...fearful mysteries...demography includes...fearfully certain areas of knowledge* (1961, p.9.)

Nearly everyone knows that these "fearful certainties" include massive population growth accompanied by mass poverty, ill-health, unemployment, and environmental damage. Hans Christian Andersen's tale, *The Emperor's New Clothes,* portrays the essence of realism, the crystal-clear view of a child of a situation as it is, rather than the politic adult view of what it ought to be. The adult majority "knew" it was impossible for their emperor

"George Orwell [suggested there are] changes over time in the nature and power of the opinion-forming groups that are mostly appeased when they should be opposed."

to be clad in anything but the greatest finery whereas the child simply saw and proclaimed the emporer's nakedness. Ibsen explosively set forth the reason why the truths perceived by the few who do not wear blinkers are sidelined by those who do.

> *The worst enemy of truth and freedom...is the compact majority. Yes, the damned, compact, liberal majority.*

George Orwell made a comparable point in his powerful essay "The Prevention of Literature," in this case delineating the changes over time in the nature and power of the opinion-forming groups that are mostly appeased when they should be opposed.

During his researches on the Continent, Malthus was truly delighted to come across — near the Lac de Joux in the Jura, as it happened — not a perceptive child in this case but an unlettered peasant who nevertheless saw the essence of the population issue with startling clarity.

Malthus conversed with him earnestly and at length, and later noted that he (the peasant):

> *Entered more fully into the subject, and appeared to understand the principle of population almost as well as any man I ever met* (Fogarty, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 2ll-12).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Role of Intellectuals

Our intellectuals surely ought to be pre-eminent in bringing firmly to our attention all important matters that parties, governments, and the masses somehow fail to appreciate. They should see even more clearly than Anderson's child, understand much more comprehensively, communicate speedily and effectively, and thereby foster the realistic perspective advocated here.

A few have risen honorably to this challenge. Albert Einstein was convinced that population was one of our greatest problems. He believed that applied science had destroyed the uneasy pre-existing equilibrium between numbers and resources, the restoration of which should — next to the prevention of nuclear war — be our highest priority.

Nearly fifty years ago, when world population was much less than half of what it is today and *per capita* consumption of scarce resources very much smaller again, he replied to Margaret Sanger's invitation to support the 1952 World Conference on Planned Parenthood in Bombay as follows:

> *I am gladly willing to become a sponsor... Progress of hygiene and medicine has completely altered the earlier precarious equilibrium of the quantitative stability of the human race...I am...firmly convinced that a powerful attempt to solve this tremendous problem...is of urgent necessity* (Suitters, 1973, p. 49-50).

In another context he also raised the question of appropriate levels of thinking about weighty issues facing humankind, expressing the opinion that:

> *The world we have made...creates problems we cannot solve at the level at which we created them* (Carey, 1992, p. 2).

The Polish-born sociologist Stanislav Andrzejewski — now naturalized British — went as far as to claim that:

> *The theory of Malthus has the privilege of being one of the very few sociological generalizations which possess the degree of certainty equal to that of the laws of physics...The central idea is irrefutable: either births are prevented or deaths must be more frequent than is biologically unavoidable* (1954, p. 15-16).

As the French author Julien Benda argued in his neglected work *La Trahison des Clercs,* it seems doubtful today how many scientists and other intellectuals can be trusted to discharge this vital warning function. This book, translated into English as *The Great Betrayal,* rails against the intellectuals, who — after two thousand years of disinterested dedication to the search for truth — began to betray their calling and prostitute their talents in the service of sectarian parties, causes, and politics (Aldington, 1928, p. 31-2).

"...we should ... stop referring to shortages of such basic resources as fresh water and land. Instead, we should refer to the ever-increasing longages of our demands."
— Garrett Hardin

Einstein's implied quantum leap in awareness and organization may well be needed. Nonetheless, I am sure that at least some of the necessary elements of functional thought and action are already present — at least in embryo. It may be more of a problem of disseminating these further and putting them into effective use rather than of breaking entirely new ground.

I am encouraged in suggesting this by the undoubted fact that virtually all known traditional societies have had — and still have, those that remain — a sound ecological awareness and effective social mechanisms for balancing numbers and resources against each other at an acceptable quality of life. I like to think of this as "demosophia" (a neologism), wisdom about population, and — if Einstein's quantum-leap really is necessary — it seems vital to me that the ecological wisdom of our forebears should not only not be lost, it should be fully recognized, revivified, nurtured, and sturdily applied.

Of course it is desirable that all human beings should be enabled to live at a level that is both

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comfortable and sustainable, but if economists had the uncluttered vision of Andersen's child, they would stop conflating the concepts of "development" and "growth." They would surely be appalled at the allied idea — almost invariably brought in by the back door — that "growth" — when disguised as "development" — is itself "sustainable," i.e., a process that can go on more or less forever. This, surely, is hubris on the grand scale. Professor Garrett Hardin, perhaps the most original thinker in this field, has cogently argued that we should decouple our analysis of apparent population-resource mismatches from its present egocentric reference point and stop referring to "*shortages*" of such basic resources as fresh water and land. Instead, we should refer to the ever-increasing "*longages*" of our demands. It is we who are at fault, who can and must change, not the bounty of Mother Nature (Hardin, 1999, p. 31, 38, and 159).

"Durkheim argued that the pursuit of never-ending growth either of numbers or of economic throughput per capita must surely be a sign of actual mental unbalance."

A final consideration that must at least be touched on under the heading of "mental perspectives" is that of mental *balance,* even *sanity*. In a finite environment, all expanding material processes must come up against limits to growth. Durkheim argued that the pursuit of never-ending growth either of numbers or of economic throughput *per capita* must surely be a sign of actual mental unbalance:

> *Nothing appears in man's...constitution which sets limits to such tendencies...[yet]...unlimited desires are insatiable by definition and insatiability is rightly considered a sign of morbidity* (1951, p. 247).

The distinguished British astronomer Sir Fred Hoyle has taken a great interest in the population problem, thinking — with Einstein — that it is very serious, and has come to a comparable conclusion. He takes issue with Malthus, arguing that the operative limit to the population explosion would turn out not to be food shortage but organizational complexity. Somehow or other we would manage to supply our burgeoning numbers at least with basic necessities until the organizational task itself became so colossal that it must fail and cause a huge population crash. This cycle would probably be repeated a number of times, on each occasion generating intensive evolutionary pressures toward higher intelligence. These, in turn, might eventually enable our distant descendants — if any survive — finally to take a grip on reality and to smooth out the sawtooth population graph into a stage of development which truly is sustainable (Hoyle, 1963).

Could either of these two — i.e., the physical limits or the organizational limits — conceivably present the optimal strategy? As a possible alternative to these dramatic scenarios may I note that in the last lecture I delivered in Bucharest, to the World Population Conference a quarter of a century ago, I challenged my fellow delegates to think the really unthinkable: not merely to absorb into their perspective the already obvious need for population control, but the possible future need for agreed and policed national and subgroup population *quotas,* starting with my own country:

> *Both people and government [of Britain] should not only accept but welcome, first a demographic steady-state, and then a reduction in numbers towards a population optimised in the light of the needs of other countries and the total carrying-capacity of the world.*
>
> *At present there is a great deal of "competitive breeding"...and, sooner or later, a solution to the population problem may well entail internationally agreed population quotas for national and sub-national groups...I would welcome this [and] a just quota for my own country might well lie within the region of one-quarter to one-half of its present size...* (Parsons, 1974, mimeo, unpub. and 1978, p .7).

Ethical Components of a Sound Perspective

Another vital aspect of a healthy perspective on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these issues is its ethical basis. Most of us hope, no doubt, that both national and international policies will progressively become less selfish, less destructive, and generally more moral and enlightened, but here we face two almost insuperable difficulties. The first concerns the fact that virtually all human action is based upon self-interest, actual or perceived. In a simple preliminary attempt to measure one aspect of this, I recently made a small study of charitable donations for foreign aid by my fellow British citizens. This showed that the almost completely voluntary allocation of our disposable income steers 1,499 fifteen-hundredths of it to ourselves, and only one fifteen-hundredth to overseas aid. (Parsons, 1998, Vol. 2, p. 634-38). The second refers to the hard truth that, in any case, there is no universally agreed moral standard against which policies can be assessed.

In his "Dialogues on the Corn Trade," the Italian Galiani — described by Nietzsche as "the profoundest [and] most sharp-sighted...man of his century" — has one of his characters, Zanobi, scornfully debunking the teachings of the Physiocrats, because:

> *They are the work of men of good will...Believe me: do not fear the rascally or the wicked: sooner or later they are unmasked. Fear the deluded man of good will; he is on good terms with his conscience, he desires the good, and everyone trusts him...But, unfortunately he is mistaken as to the means of procuring it for us.*

The character he is addressing, the President, challenges him by demanding:

> *So...you would rather have us governed by wicked men than by good ones.*

To which Zanobi replies:

> *I don't say that: but I insist how hard it is to find a great man [who]...has to combine extreme and opposite qualities, almost impossible to reconcile; he must have the ardent will of the man of virtue for the good, together with the calm, and — as you might say — the indifference, of the wicked* (Furbank, 1992, p. 17).

In the face of these stark realities it is tempting to take off vertically into an ethical cloud cuckoo land and call for policies based on a moral "Great Leap Forward" into impossibly high ethical standards involving massive self-sacrifice by the better-off; equal sharing of what are misleadingly called "the world's" resources, and so forth.

It is by no means certain that this would work out in the long run even if the moral miracle were to occur, but in any case it seems unlikely that we shall ever find out.

Hard decisions are called for. A recent book claims that it is already too late to strike a reasonable balance between human numbers and resources. We are already too many and will soon be far too many for sustainability. Allowing numbers to peak and then be followed by a massive die-off would, the author feels, do less long-term damage to the earth's support-systems than an all-out effort to maintain for as long as possible a population size far above the sustainable level (Morrison, R. 1999).

The Rules of the Game

Our relationship with the environment is no game. It is in deadly earnest. But for the purposes of argument regarding it *as* one, I must underline that the final and perhaps most fundamental aspect of a functional perspective on environmental issues is that there is no room for bending the rules of this game, however slightly, let alone outright cheating. The pigeons always come home to roost. T. H. Huxley (known in his day as "Darwin's Bulldog") pointed out — vis-à-vis the human "game of chess" with the environment — that our opponent, Nature, is "always fair, just and patient" but "never overlooks a mistake or makes the smallest allowance for ignorance..." If we play the game well "the highest stakes are paid," but if we play ill, we are "checkmated — without haste but without remorse" (Vogt, 1949, p. 274).

Concluding Remarks

I began by listing some of the "earthy" phrases and "rock" similes and metaphors used to give us comfort by propping up our ideas of solidity, reliability, and permanence. I then argued that — except on absurdly short time spans — these cannot possibly be valid. A moment's reflection on the derivation of the geologist's labels for the three main types of rock, the "igneous" (from the molten state),

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the "sedimentary" (from myriad layers of dust-like deposits), and the "metamorphic" (from more or less violent modifications of the first two basic states), makes nonsense of this attitude.

The implication is that we really must learn to think very much further ahead and organize ourselves accordingly, requisites which present the most severe challenges to democratic control systems with their quite pathetically short time spans.

I end with a quotation from my 1971 book that stressed — among other things — the impermanence of our living-platform, the continent of Europe and its offshore islands. In geological terms it was only yesterday when the river Thames was a tributary of the Rhine, which in turn was a tributary of the Elbe. The sea level in the region has risen and fallen by hundreds of meters and numerous ice-ages have come and gone. In the same geological terms it was only the day before that when all the world's present continents formed part of a single mega-continent, Pangaea.

Having noted that the British Isles are slowly tilting, that London is sinking, and our east coast is rapidly eroding, I concluded:

> *A prudent nation will not permit its numbers to increase up to the maximum permitted by its present environment, the carrying capacity of which — despite improving technology and conservation — may diminish because of the simple fact of a diminution in its size.*
>
> *Instead of thinking in terms of terra firma we might do better to try to see ourselves as passengers packed rather too tightly on a flimsy surfboard with an overstocked bar but little food, without a pilot or a certificate of seaworthiness, and act accordingly* (Parsons 1971, p. 213).

In my view, that should be the essence of the perspective adopted by all societies toward their populations, their environments, and their quality of life. There is room for neither flatulent optimism nor destructive pessimism. The essence of any sane perspective on the population/environment problem surely must be hardheaded realism, based on accurate perception and long-term thinking, planning, and action, coupled with efficient monitoring and rapid correction of deviation from the desired goal/state. This is dynamic optimization. We can never finally solve this problem, or win the population/resources war. We can only try to keep our end up in the endless succession of battles.

This conclusion need not, and should not, be disheartening; it represents a truly great and potentially rewarding challenge. Once we have firmly grasped this fundamental perspective we can set out to achieve, and then maintain, a suitable balance between numbers and resources at a reasonably acceptable quality of life. So-called primitive societies have managed this balancing act throughout the ages and those that remain continue to achieve it today. If they can keep it up as the centuries roll by, then surely — with all our extra knowledge and sophistication — we can start doing it too. ■

REFERENCES

Aldington, R. tr. (1928) *Benda. J. [La Trabison des Clercs] The Great Betrayal.* London. G. Routledge & Sons

Andrzejewski, S. (1954) *Military Organisation and Society.* London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. (After becoming a British national this author streamlined his surname to Andreski. His many excellent works since then appear under that name.)

Carey, A. (1992) "Accounting for the future". *Social Sciences.* (13), Feb.

Clark, C. (1958) "World Population". *Nature,* 181. pp. 1,235-6

— (1969) *Population Growth & Land Use.* London. Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

Durkheim, E. (1951) *Suicide.* Glencoe, Ill. The Free Press

Fogarty, M. (1958) *MALTHUS. ESSAY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION.* London. Dent

Hardin, G. (1999) *The Ostrich Factor: Our Population Myopia.* New York & Oxford. OUP .

Hume, D. (1742) *Essays Literary, Moral, & Political.* Many subsequent editions.

Furbank, P. N. (1992) "Galiani's Strangeness". *London Review of Books.* 14 (4) 27 Feb.

Hoyle, Sir F. (1963) *A Contradiction in the Argument of Malthus.* University of Hull Publications.

Mead, M. (1962) *Male and Female.* London. Pelican.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Morrison, R. (1999) *The Spirit in the Gene.* Ithaca, NY. Cornell University Press.

Orwell, G. (1957) "The Prevention of Literature". Ch. in *George Orwell's Selected Essays.* Harmondsworth. Penguin.

Parsons, J. (1971) *Population Versus Liberty.* London. Pemberton Books.

— (1974) "British population policy in a world context." A paper delivered to the Tribune of the World Population Conference, Faculty of Law, University of Bucharest. 27 Aug. Mimeo.

— (1978) "Reflections on Demophobia". *INTERCOM.*6 (9) Sept. (Quotes part of the above mimeo).

— (1990) How "sustainable" is "development"?. Pt. 1 *Social Biol & Human Affairs.* 55 (2), p. 41-2.

— (1991) How "sustainable" is "development"?. Pt.2 *Social Biol & Human Affairs.* 56 (1&2), p. 37-51.

— (1998) *Human Population Competition. A Study of the Pursuit of Power Through Numbers. 2 Vols.* Lewiston, NY. The Edwin Mellen Press.

— (2000) *The Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus, AM. FRS. Demi-Devil, Saint, or merely Great Benefactor.* A Cardiff University monograph.

Sauvy, A. (1961) *Fertility & Survival.* London. Chatto & Windus.

— (1969) *General Theory of Population.* London. Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Simon, J. (1981) *The Ultimate Resource.* Princeton University Press.

— (1986) *Theory of Population and Economic Growth.* Oxford. Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Suitters, B. (1973) *Be Brave and Angry.* London. IPPF.

Vogt, W. (1951) *Road to Survival.* London. Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Cultural Pressures Undoing Our Unity

by Paul Craig Roberts

In 1973, the prize-winning French novelist Jean Raspail published *The Camp of the Saints.* An English language edition appeared in 1975 to general acclaim. *Publishers Weekly* declared the book to be "remarkable...riveting." *The Wall Street Journal*'s Edmond Fuller said, "Sensational." Linell Smith in the *Baltimore Sun* said, "No reader will remain unaffected by the questions it raises." The *Library Journal* said, "This book will succeed in shocking and challenging the complacent contemporary mind."

Mr. Raspail's story is about the arrival on the ritzy Mediterranean coast of France of an armada of 100 decrepit ships carrying 800,000 Indians. By the time the fleet arrives, the French government, which has tracked the voyage hour by hour, has collapsed in a paroxysm of white guilt. The Indians come ashore unopposed. Others follow. France disappears and, also, all of Europe.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* called Mr. Raspail's tale "audacious and imaginative fiction." A quarter-century later, Mr. Raspail's fiction is hard news.

Early last Saturday morning, February 17, a decrepit ship, the Cambodian-registered *East Sea*, loaded with 1,000 Iraqi Kurds packed shoulder to shoulder, was intentionally beached in a sandbank about 20 yards off Boulouris Beach near the resort of Nice.

The French seem ecstatic over the arrival. "It's a miracle that these people are here," declared Jean-Jacques Raymond. "We are going to feed them, give them water and let them rest."

Feed stray cats and you will have a menagerie. Provide

***Paul Craig Roberts** is a syndicated columnist. ©2001 by Creators Syndicate. Reprinted by permission.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

welfare and you will attract clients. How many ships laden with human cargo will follow the *East Sea*? Will real life now follow *The Camp of the Saints*? To reach France, Third World invaders must cross seas. To reach the United States, Mexicans only have to walk across the border. Hordes of them do. Harvard Professor Samuel P. Huntington, author of *The Clash of Civilizations*, says, "Mexican immigration is a unique, disturbing and looming challenge to our cultural integrity, our national identity and potentially to our future as a country."

"If over one million Mexican soldiers crossed the border," Mr. Huntington says, "Americans would treat it as a major threat to their national security and react accordingly." Why then do we not react as vigorously to the invasion of one million Mexican civilians?

The answer, Mr. Huntington says, is that Americans are brain-washed by two half-truths. One half-truth is that we are a nation of immigrants. The other is that our commonality is creedal. That is, our national identity is defined by political belief, not by religion, race, or culture.

Mr. Huntington notes that there is a basic distinction and fundamental difference between settlers and immigrants. The United States originated as a settler nation. It was Anglo-Protestant settlers who cast the die and created the United States. Immigrants came later. Immigrants came for personal reasons — to take advantage of the opportunity an open society offered a person to get ahead.

Until 1965, immigration worked, because it was European, and immigrants assimilated to the settlers' culture. Now the question is, "What do immigrants assimilate to?"

"Americans are brain-washed by two half-truths. One half-truth is that we are a nation of immigrants. The other is that our commonality is creedal. That is, our national identity is defined by political belief, not by religion, race, or culture."

Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz thinks Mr. Huntington is asking the wrong question. He looks at it the other way round and seems to say the settlers must assimilate to the immigrants' cultures; otherwise, we are violating civil-rights laws and discriminating against foreign races and creeds.

In the *Los Angeles Times*, Mr. Dershowitz takes umbrage that "the very first act of the new Bush administration was to have a Protestant minister dedicate the inauguration, invoking "the Father, the Son — the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit." Mr. Dershowitz says this is "particularistic and parochial language" and excludes "the tens of millions of Americans who are Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Shintoists, agnostics and atheists."

After thiry-five years of non-white, non-European immigration, the American settlers' culture is no longer the basis for assimilation. It is a particularistic culture and no longer provides a basis for national unity. To require immigrants to assimilate to this culture would, Mr. Dershowitz says, coerce them into violating their own creeds.

The multicultural approach to civil rights does not support assimilation. To make immigrants assimilate is to deny their authenticity and constitutes a form of harassment. Multicultural intellectuals and Democratic politicians have turned immigration into cultural invasion that uses civil-rights laws to attack the settlers' culture.

As he so often does, Mr. Dershowitz has put the matter clearly. Because of the massive Third World immigration that Ted Kennedy and the Democratic Party deceived the country into accepting, our culture has become divisive and can no longer be practiced, at least not in public, by the President. Unity is out the window. The settlers' culture is just another interest group that must lobby in Washington for its share of the spoils. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maybe Mexico Should Try Open Borders First

by Ric Oberlink

President Bush visited Mexican President Vicente Fox at Fox's ranch in San Cristobal, Mexico this past February. Among the issues they discussed was Fox's support for an open border between Mexico and the United States.

Currently, no nation in the world allows unlimited immigration. If an open border is such a good idea, then Fox should just go ahead and open the Mexican border, not only to the bordering nations of Guatemala and Belize, but also to the rest of Latin America and even to Bangladesh, Sierra Leone, China, Somalia and every other nation.

In the meantime, the United States can increase its efforts to secure its borders and penalize employers who knowingly hire undocumented immigrants. Mexican cooperation at the border could help us limit entry here to those who use legal avenues. After two or three decades of observing Mexico's experiment with an open border, citizens of the United States could decide if they like the experiment and wish to emulate it.

The economy of Mexico is much more similar to that of its Latin American neighbors than to that of the United States. It would be less disruptive, therefore, for Mexico to open its southern border than it would be for the United States.

There is a $25,000 gap between the per capita GDP of the United States at $33,900 and that of Mexico at $8,500. Thus, the poorest countries in the world are more closely matched to Mexico's economy than Mexico is to the U.S. economy.

Even if one compares the disparities in relative rather than absolute terms, it follows that President Fox should be willing to accept immigrants from almost anywhere. If Fox thinks the United States should allow unlimited immigration from a nation whose per capita GDP is one-fourth as large, he should allow unlimited immigration from similarly situated countries. Guatemala, El Salvador, Indonesia, and China all have per capita GDPs that are proportionally much closer to that of Mexico than Mexico's is to that of the United States.

It is true that Mexicans will work for lower wages than native-born Americans. That is why rich industrialists support massive immigration. This is not new. Samuel Gompers warned of "corporate employers who desire to employ physical strength at the lowest possible wage and who prefer a rapidly revolving labor supply at low wages to a regular supply of American wage earners at fair wages."

Of course, Bangladeshis will work for lower wages than Mexicans will, so Fox should allow them to immigrate to Mexico. If every nation chooses to compete in the global economy with a never-ending spiral of declining wages, then each country should import people who will work for lower wages. Eventually, the labor market will stabilize with Third World wages and Third World working conditions.

Mexico deports thousands of Central American and other illegal immigrants each year. Recently, five Guatemalans were killed when the bus in which they were being deported overturned. Fox has yet to announce that Mexico will quit apprehending and deporting illegal entrants from Central America.

It is generally true that an

***Ric Oberlink** is an environmental consultant for Californians for Population Stabilization.* *This op-ed appeared in the* San Diego Union-Tribune *on March 7.* *Copyright 2001, Union-Tribune Publishing Co.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

improving Mexican economy will decrease some of the pressure to immigrate to the United States. However, the gap, as evidenced by the difference in per capita GDP, is so huge that it will make little difference in the near future. Still, millionaire Fox could help on this score, and he doesn't need to look too far. His family ranch is virtually the only employer in San Cristobal. President Fox could start by boosting the wages of the ranch laborers who currently make $8 per day. ■

European Community Struggles with Migrants

Turkish people-smugglers highlight issue

by William Dickinson

Chances are you haven't heard much about *East Sea,* the rusty freighter that ran aground in mid-February near the French Riviera. Turkish smugglers packed at least 910 Kurdish men, women and children into the hold of the 90-foot ship, with a one-way destination in mind. The captain and crew fled by lifeboat after leaving the boat facing land, the propellers turning, so that it could not drift away. A color photograph of the ship in my local paper gave rise to a question: Is this a clear but terrible view of tomorrow, not just for Europe but for the United States?

The sudden appearance of the refugees, 480 of them children, threw France for a loop. Politicians began squabbling about what to do: welcome the Iraqi Kurds or ship them back, probably to Turkey. This was France's first experience with such a mass wave of illegal immigrants. The fear is that it will not be the last. One conservative former minister argued that if the Kurds were accepted on French territory, "We will open the floodgates." But a government spokesman asked, "You don't want to throw them into the sea, do you?"

The Kurds first were taken to military barracks, but later were set free while authorities considered their claims for political asylum. According to BBC News Online, French officials reportedly told the refugees that they might want to head for Britain because it would give them "much better treatment." This provoked a response from Jack Straw, Britain's Home Secretary, that the U.K. had the power to send back to France any of the Kurds who crossed the Channel. A whiff of panic is in the European Community's air. A day after the *East Sea* grounding, 200 Africans in four boats landed illegally in Spain.

What's happening on Europe's Mediterranean coast these days was foreshadowed more than a quarter century ago in a eerily prophetic novel, *The Camp of the Saints.* In Jean Raspail's apocalyptic story, a flotilla of 100 rusty steamers heads north from the Ganges, carrying hundreds of thousands of impoverished people so desperate that they are willing to risk everything in the hope of reaching the south coast of France and a better life. Five more fleets from Africa, Asia, and India join them. Sheer numbers threaten to overwhelm France's resources and culture.

But politicians dither, torn between their humanitarian instincts and the knowledge that the country itself is at risk. Who will give the order to sink the boats? In the end, the ships disgorge their human cargo. In time, all of Western Europe is overrun.

Raspail's book caused a sensation, and he

William B. Dickinson *has served as manager of the Washington Post Writers Group and currently holds the Manship Chair in Mass Communications at Louisiana State University. He continues to be associated with the Biocentric Institute at Airlie, Virginia, for which this essay was written. It is reprinted by permission.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

became a literary pariah. In an afterword to a new edition published in 1985, Raspail described the vision that led to the book:

> *They were there! A million poor wretches, armed only with their weakness and their numbers, overwhelmed by misery, encumbered with starving brown and black children, ready to disembark on our soil, the vanguard of the multitudes pressing hard against every part of the tired and overfed West. I literally saw them, saw the major problem they presented, a problem absolutely insoluble by our present moral standards. To let them in would destroy us. To reject them would destroy them...So-called Christian charity will prove itself powerless. The times will be cruel.*

Is it premature to suggest that Western Civilization itself is eroding under the pressure of uncontrolled, perhaps uncontrollable, immigration from countries with different religions, cultures, and political systems? To be sure, most immigration to rich nations takes place in less dramatic ways than boats. A few people at a time slip across porous borders. Others enter legally as tourists or students and stay on, using one stratagem or another. Still others enter first as refugees fleeing civil war or oppression and then don't go home when the emergency ends.

Humanitarian impulses war against hard reality. The compromise seems to be that we will make some effort to prevent illegal entry. But if someone succeeds in getting here, even in the dark of night, we will let him stay. In the wake of the recent Salvadoran earthquake, President Bush assured the one million Salvadorans "temporarily" in the United States that they would not be forced to return home anytime soon. Those who went back to help relatives were guaranteed re-entry to the United States.

The crazy patchwork of laws and regulations often means we have no prospect of limiting immigration at all. Policies are concocted on the spot to fit political advantages, with bizarre outcomes. Cubans who manage to *land* on American soil are accepted as refugees; those who are intercepted at sea are returned. But if you are Haitian, it won't do any good to reach U.S. soil; you will be returned in almost every case.

Lax immigration laws and the inexorable tide of illegal immigration drive up population and the demands on public schools, roads, natural resources, national parks, public services of all kinds. Each new arrival inherits an infrastructure built up over several hundred years. Americans are generous. But it is one thing to know that we are sharing our wealth. It is another if the new arrivals are so numerous that our progeny end up sharing their poverty.

Pro-immigration spokesmen charge that immigrants are being "scapegoated" for domestic problems traced to rapid population growth. But numbers do not deceive. U.S. population, now 281 million, is projected to grow to four hundred million by 2050. Sixty percent of U.S. population growth at present is due to immigrants and their children. One out of every 10 workers is an immigrant. Even if you believe that the cultural challenges can be met through assimilation, imagine the pressures posed by 120 million more people within the lifetimes of your children or grandchildren.

"The crazy patchwork of laws and regulations often means we have no prospect of limiting immigration at all. Policies are concocted on the spot to fit political advantages..."

At a minimum, citizens deserve a healthy national debate on where we are going with immigration policy. Neither party seems willing to oblige. Immigration barely surfaced during the presidential campaign. Feelings run so high that most exchanges end up in recrimination and personal attack. But facing up to the issue will become unavoidable. World population, now six billion, is growing at the rate of one billion every 16 years. Ninety percent of this growth is in poor nations. Anarchy, poverty and desperation will spread. Hundreds of thousands of displaced people will be looking for the next *East Sea* to carry them to distant shores. The times will, indeed, be cruel. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hoof-and-Mouth Disease: A Border Control Issue

by John H. Tanton

In 1347, the Kipchak army augmented its siege of a Genoese trading post in the Crimea by catapulting plague-infected corpses into the town.[1] Thus was the devastating bubonic plague transmitted to Europe. It killed between one-eighth and two-thirds of the population, depending on the district. An estimated twenty-five million people died from this "black death." European population numbers did not recover to pre-plague levels until the early 1700s.

Hoof-and-mouth disease is apparently a highly virulent and communicable disease for animals, if not quite as fatal as the human plague. The susceptible animals include not only domestic cattle, pigs, sheep, and goats, but also wild deer, elk, antelope, bison, javelina, bears, wild boar and, in the north, possibly moose, caribou and musk ox. The introduction of the disease to North America — where an earlier outbreak was eradicated in 1929 — could end in a domestic and wildlife animal holocaust of enormous proportions, not to mention the effect on production of domestic meat, hides, milk, cheese, and other animal products.

It has been posited that hoof-and-mouth disease needn't worry us too much as it does not infect humans. It can, however, have a major effect on our food supply and economy. About forty percent of all arable land worldwide is pasture and range land. These lands generally cannot produce row or grain crops, whether by reason of poor soil, steep erosion-prone slopes, inadequate rainfall, or low soil fertility. They can however grow cellulose forage crops, which can be converted to human food only through the agency of animals — mostly of the susceptible categories mentioned above. Production by infected animals, even though they don't necessarily die, falls to uneconomic levels. Farms and ranches become animal hospitals rather than production units.

It is vital that this modern plague be excluded from our country and continent. We know of the current situation in Europe. The disease is endemic in Argentina, where it has now broken out into an acute problem.[2] It has now been detected in all South American countries except Chile and Uruguay. This includes Columbia, where it is poised to travel into Middle America, facilitated by the nearly completed Pan American highway. Once introduced into North America, the disease could spread like wildfire through our susceptible animal populations since, unlike animals in endemic areas, ours have not acquired a resistance to the disease by living with it for many years.

The plans of the United States Department of Agriculture's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service to deploy its 1,800 inspectors "at major U.S. airports and other ports of entry"[3] are completely inadequate. This ignores the traffic of tens and even hundreds of thousands of persons who illegally cross our borders between regular ports of entry. Even at official land border crossing points inspection is extremely difficult, with fully loaded semi-trucks passing through every few minutes. About three million trucks enter the United States each year. Only a small proportion of these vehicles are adequately examined, as drug and human smugglers have learned to their profit.

Those who wish the United States ill — there are such persons in the world — could with little trouble smuggle infected material across our southern border — right into our major cattle production areas. There is no need to use a catapult, as the Kipchak army did.

To protect against this "clear and present danger," the United States government should institute a virtual closure of our borders *between* the legal ports of entry. Even in normal times, no one is supposed to enter through these areas, though tens of thousands do. This

John H. Tanton, M.D., *publisher of* The Social Contract, *is a retired ophthalmologist living in Petoskey, Michigan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may well require deployment of the individual states' national guard units or the federal military.

Then at our legal ports of entry along the border, and at our airports and seaports (that together number more than 300), scrutiny of people and material must be raised to the highest possible level. This will require a marked increase in staffing levels, and inspection of virtually all cargo. Under the best of circumstances, this will mean border crossing delays. That is part of the price that must be paid in an attempt to exclude the virus from the U.S.

This *cordon sanitaire* should be maintained until the seriousness of the developing worldwide epidemic can be assessed and control measures for the U.S. other than this quarantine can be developed and put in place. When the threat moderates, controls can be relaxed.

If the hoof-and-mouth virus is let loose on our susceptible animals there will be no calling it back, especially for wild creatures. The risk is huge, and the consequences are potentially devastating, both environmentally and economically. If we wait until the malady shows up in the U.S. we will have been too timid and indecisive, and will have waited too long.

Where no adequate remedies are available, the action required must be proportionate in severity and duration to the risk. ■

NOTES

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica* Vol. 2, 1975, p.253, Article on "Black Death".

H. Payne. © 2001. Reprinted by permission of United Media.

[2] http://www.smh.com.au/news/0103/19/world/world6.html.

[3] Beltsie, Laurent, "How the US has avoided Europe's livestock problems," *Christian Science Monitor* (16 March 2001) p.2.

[*Editor's note: On a different tack, Dr. Tanton has also submitted the following letter to the editor of a British newspaper. Note that in Europe the term "foot-and-mouth" is used. The American label "hoof-and-mouth" seems more accurate since the disease affects cloven-hoofed animals almost exclusively.*]

Re: Francis Bacon and Foot-and-Mouth Disease

Francis Bacon admonished us in 1620 that "Nature, to be commanded, must be obeyed." The foot-and-mouth disease epidemic is but one symptom of many of our failures to obey, and hence to command.

One of nature's fundamental dicta is that borders are essential to contain most biological processes. We have instead decided on "globalization," the erasure of borders. We are learning to our sorrow that weeds and diseases are among the things we are globalizing.

U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Ann M. Veneman says the U.S. government is trying to balance the forces of globalization and the need to protect the meat industry.[1] Translation: Having broken down the borders to disease and seen the consequences, we must now try to build them back up again to protect ourselves. Globalization sentences us to frequent recurrences of this scenario, for both plant and animal invasions – and for disease organisms preying on human beings.

Another of nature's maxims is that monocultures are invitations to outbreaks of disease. Huge hog, poultry and cattle operations with thousands of genetically similar animals are a disaster waiting to happen. Future outbreaks like this current one are perfectly predictable, even if we cannot foresee the specific organism, date or venue.

A third precept flows from the recent UN report that our globe now hosts 19 megacities with more than 10 million inhabitants, some of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them ranging up to 15 or even 20 millions. By 2015, the number of these massive urbanizations is projected to increase to 23.[2] Historian William McNeill delivers the biological caution. In his seminal *Plagues and Peoples* he says in effect that urbanized humanity presents an enriched environment for the nutriment of disease organisms.[3] In other words, rather than being at the top of the food chain as we arrogantly suppose, we are potential food supply for microorganisms, just as cattle and wildlife are food supply for the foot-and-mouth disease virus. We humans are presenting ourselves in huge conglomerations that must look like a vast smorgasbord for those parasitic organisms that feed on us.

It is getting late, but there may still be time to change our ways. A good place to start would be reading Professor McNeill's still timely book and then rethinking our ill-advised efforts to abrogate biological borders.

NOTES

[1] Elizabeth Becker and Christopher Marquis, "Some say U.S. Lags in Blocking Foot-and-Mouth Disease at the Border." *New York Times*, 26 March 2001.

[2] Joseph Chamie, "Viewing the new population order." *Washington Times,* 4 March 2001, p. B4.

[3] McNeill, William H. *Plagues and Peoples*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press; 1976 p. 57.

School Overcrowding

No one mentions immigration as the culprit

by Linda Thom

Recently, the Census Bureau released its annual report on school enrollment. The news story entitled "Children of Baby Boomers and Immigrants Boost School Enrollment to Equal All-Time High, Census Bureau Reports," finally suggests that immigration is part of the cause of school overcrowding. In prior years, the reports by the Census Bureau as well as those of the Department of Education blamed the nation's overcrowded classrooms entirely on baby boomers' children, so some progress is being made.

***Linda Thom** is a former budget analyst in the office of the Santa Barbara (CA) County administrator. This essay is reprinted by permission from www.vdare.com.*

Unfortunately, the Census Bureau still does not have it right. Baby boomers' children did not boost school enrollment to an all-time high; only immigrants' children did so.

The first paragraph of the press release states that school enrollment reached its last peak in 1970 with 49 million baby boomer students. Baby boomers are those born between 1946 and 1964, according to the Census folks. In 1999, school enrollment again equaled 49 million students. If enrollment in 1970 is the same as enrollment in 1999 — 49 million — then there has been no boost in enrollment, right? The same is the same, not a boost. But never mind. According to the release, "About 1 in 5 elementary and high school students had at least one foreign-born parent in 1999." One in five students equals 20 percent of the 49 million students, or 9.8 million students with foreign-born parents.

Now this is really easy, so just follow along. If, in 1999, 9.8 million students had foreign-born parents, then 49 million students minus 9.8 million students equals 39.2 million children without foreign-born parents. One would assume that most of these 39.2 children are the offspring of baby boomers. So where are we? In 1970, we had 49 million baby boomers in school and in 1999 we had 39.2 million children of baby boomers in school. If our schools had only baby boomers' children to contend with, enrollment would have declined by 9.8 million students, right?

See, it was really easy. Baby boomers' children did *not* boost school enrollment. Baby boomers' children caused a *decline* in enrollment.

So why do you suppose the Census Bureau is still blaming baby boomers? Do you think they may be bad at numbers? ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The 'Sojourner' Argument

Scripture texts often misused by religious communities to advocate high immigration

by Edwin Childress

Many Americans find that the national leaders of their religious affiliations argue against reduction of immigration based in part on their interpretation of the biblical term "sojourner." The term, however, often appears to be misused. As has previously been reported in *The Social Contract*, immigration reductions in recent years have been opposed by national Catholic, Jewish, Mainline Protestant, Religious Right, and Quaker leaders. Among the most common biblical references to support their positions have been those referring to the sojourner.

"Immigration reductions in recent years have been opposed by [faith groups]. Among the most common biblical references to support their positions have been those referring to the sojourner."

For example, "To Love the Sojourner" is the title of a 1988 working paper published by the United Methodist Church (UMC) drawing members' attention to changes in immigration law. That title and theme continued through pamphlets and press releases for over ten years and may still be circulating today in various forms. A 1996 resolution, "Immigrants and Refugees: To Love the Sojourner" was submitted by the denomination's Board of Global Ministries and approved that year by the General Conference (United Methodism's highest authority).

The 1988 paper discussed the amnesty for three million illegal aliens in the U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 and criticized provisions threatening fines for businesses that hired later illegal aliens:

> *It is apparent that the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, for all the hope it represents for a relative few, renders life much more difficult for the vast majority of immigrant peoples in the United States. These circumstances cry out for attention from the church and from Christian individuals. We must not abandon the sojourner ...abandoning sojourners would be to deny their humanity as well as our own* (p. 28).

The paper traced the themes of sojourning and wandering found in the Bible. God's Spirit, Abraham, the "pilgrim people of God," Moses and the Israelites, Jesus and the holy family, the apostle Paul — all are shown to be sojourners. The history of the UMC's concern for those in need and especially for migrants is cataloged with appropriate references to denominational documents. Commentary is then inserted at various places to demonstrate the interplay of Bible, doctrine, and today's realities. For example:

> *The Bible is full of stories of sojourners, strangers without homes, whom God called people to protect. The Israelites — God's chosen people — were themselves sojourners for 40 years after the exodus from Egypt before they entered the promised land. God did not let the Israelites forget that they had been without a homeland for such a long time; the ethic of welcoming the sojourner was woven into the*

***Edwin Childress** is a graduate of the Divinity School at Duke University and for twenty years has served as a pastor in the United Methodist Church. He is deputy director at NumbersUSA.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

very fabric of the Israelite confederacy. It was more than an ethic, it was a command of God. "Do not mistreat or oppress a stranger; you know how it feels to be a stranger, because you were sojourners in the land of Egypt" (Exodus 23:9). (p.1).

As these excerpts point out, the Bible in a great many places uses "sojourner" to refer to those who are in a location that is not their original homeland. However, it is clear that while a sojourner shares some characteristics with an immigrant, the two are in very different pursuits. Using the term "sojourner" as a kind of proof-text for political statements about immigration clouds the issue because many people of faith find it hard to "argue against the Bible." Paul W. Lewis, an author on Christian engagement of social issues and a former missionary, admits "I have been greatly bothered by the way some people have used the term 'sojourner' to back up their own idea about immigrants. It was a totally different situation back then. We could also use the word 'traveler' today."

What, then, is the context of sojourner in the Bible? It is difficult to state just how stark are the differences between today's world and that of Biblical times. In the days before nations, when tribes or kingdoms were the governing units, borders were almost never maintained. People or families traveled widely under differing conditions and motivations. Abraham in the book of Genesis set out with his extended family in a search for God's threefold promise that he would possess land, become a mighty nation, and be a blessing to all people (Genesis 12:1-3).

While we romanticize this kind of bold action, migrating in ancient times was a dangerous undertaking. Consider the effects of weather, marauding bands of thieves, and the difficulty of carrying one's supplies. Related in practice to sojourning was the nomadic existence of many tribes who followed their flocks in the changing seasons, seeking grass and water where they were most abundant. This was inherently different from sojourning because it was within a specified territory and was the established way of life for that people.

Existing alongside the practice of sojourning was the revered tradition of hospitality (see also Genesis 18). Even today, many traditional customs and mannerisms are still practiced. Lewis, the long-term missionary in Southeast Asia says, "I know that among the people I lived and worked with in Burma and Thailand, it was very important to them that they accept travelers coming through their area, and they have a concept of caring for them much like the Old Testament concept regarding the 'sojourner.'" One can imagine how the admonitions to care for the sojourner were gracious expressions of faith in an inhospitable time.

At other times, not just families but whole tribes or populations were forced to migrate because of famine or war. The Israelites made their famous migration to Egypt because of famine. Joseph had prepared their way in Egypt by making himself indispensable to Pharaoh.

"Using the term 'sojourner' as a kind of proof-text for political statements about immigration clouds the issue because many people of faith find it hard to 'argue against the Bible.'"

It is in this context that "sojourner" is used in the Jewish Torah and the Christian Old Testament. The *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* provides three instances giving specific definition to the word sojourner: "A person living in mutually responsible association with a community or in a place not inherently his own...In the basic meaning of the term, a sojourner is a person who occupies a position between the native born and the foreigner...A traveler and settler for a shorter or longer period."

A secular source, *The Oxford American Dictionary and Language Guide*, defines "sojourn" "to stay temporarily." In the case of each source, sojourning would seem to be a temporary condition. God commands hospitality and care for those who sojourn because once Israel was herself a sojourner. At the offering of first fruits as described in Deuteronomy 26, the pilgrim says, "A wandering Aramean was my father; and he went down into Egypt and sojourned

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there, few in number…"

Professor John B. Cobb Jr., for 32 years the Ingraham Professor of Theology at the Claremont School of Theology, concurs: "The Biblical term 'sojourner' implies someone who is residing in a land which is not his or hers by birth. Almost always it conveys a sense of temporary residence."

The terms "immigrant" and "immigration" do not appear in the Bible. *The Oxford American Dictionary and Language Guide* defines immigration as follows: "To come as a permanent resident to a country other than one's native land."

Why does any of this matter? Isn't it just a small semantic detail? It is a small detail indicative of a very large issue, and among communities citing the authority of scripture for belief and action, small details mean a great deal. Sojourners, while their future plans were not clear, were not intent on permanent settlement. To use "sojourner" and "immigrant" interchangeably in today's world is to obscure their distinction. While sojourners in the Bible were forced by necessity to move away from their homes, their intention was to return.

The Israelites in Egypt came to a time when God determined they should return to the land of their ancestors — Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The Egyptians, however, had grown used to their labor as slaves. The first chapter of Exodus recounts several of the major building projects dependent on Hebrew labor. At the same time they wanted this slave labor, the Egyptians were afraid of the growing numbers of Israelites. The midwives were commanded to kill the newborn males but not the females. They disobeyed, of course, and God rewarded them and all the Israelites with greater numbers. As every child of Summer Bible School knows, Moses led the Israelites out of bondage to forty years in the wilderness and then Joshua "fit the battle of Jericho" and led them into the Promised Land.

God's intention all along was that Israel in Egypt should remain distinctive so that she would serve God's purposes in history. Is it still appropriate today to understand that nations possess a role in history and in the affairs of the world? As faithful people, we pray and hope that each nation will contribute in positive ways that bring peace and fulfillment.

Finally, what does any of this have to do with immigration policies? Several issues are relevant. First, America needs to make realistic allowances for those who need to "sojourn" here temporarily. We call them refugees today. The United Nations says that, for the most part, refugees should be repatriated as soon as possible. A small contingent from Kosovo came to the U.S. on a temporary basis and when the situation at home became more secure, the desire of many was to return. That's the pattern to be followed. We could take in far more true refugees than we do currently. We don't because, once here, they are encouraged to stay, thus driving up already large numbers of annual immigrants. This does nothing for future refugees who could benefit from a temporary stay and it does nothing for the refugees' homelands.

Once again, Paul Lewis' perspective as a retired missionary gives him valuable insight:

> *My definition of love: a total concern for the total welfare of the other person through space and time. When I apply this to people wanting*

Pertinent Biblical citations of "sojourner"

When Abraham's wife, Sarah, dies, he must go to buy land where he can bury her. *And Abraham rose up before his dead (wife), and said to the Hittites, "I am a stranger and a sojourner among you; give me property among you for a burying place, that I may bury my dead out of my sight."* Genesis 23:3-4

The book of Leviticus contains certain prescriptions for different circumstances that may occur in life. *If your brother becomes poor, and cannot maintain himself with you, you shall maintain him; as a stranger and a sojourner he shall live with you.* Leviticus 25:35

You shall give three cities beyond the Jordan, and three cities in the land of Canaan, to be cities of refuge. These six cities shall be for refuge for the people of Israel, and for the stranger and for the sojourner among them, that anyone who kills any person without intent may flee there. Numbers 35:13-15

Hear my prayer, O Lord, and give ear to my cry; hold not thy peace at my tears! For I am thy passing guest, a sojourner, like all my fathers. Psalm 39:12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to immigrate into this country, I realize that many of them will be much better off in their own country. It makes much more sense to differentiate refugees and immigrants — I believe we must show love to both, but love includes the head as well as the heart. 'Love God with all your heart, soul, strength, and mind' is powerful.

A second issue focuses on the legitimacy of all nations. Our religious rhetoric and practice often imply that only the United States offers the kind of life that's worth living in the world today. That's a national arrogance which can bear no positive effect. In the Old Testament, Israel misunderstood her chosen role as one of privilege, whereas the prophets tried to make her see that she was God's instrument for bringing the world to a right way of living — peace with justice.

Author Roy Beck, in an article in the Spring 1992 issue of *The Social Contract* entitled "'Xenophobia' — Scrabble Winner, Debate Stopper," noted the growing number of news stories which ascribed xenophobic or nativist motivations to any position seeking to restrict the number of immigrants. The article's title makes clear what is still true: Citizens with genuine concerns find it difficult to discuss immigration reform. Beck states that while most journalists readily find exaggerated or irrational fears of foreigners to be illegitimate,

...They rarely point out that there are legitimate, mainstream ways to raise immigration concerns. ...Thus, when readers see that a commentator has labeled one type of anti-immigration reasoning as beyond the pale of proper public discourse, they may think all anti-immigration reasoning automatically is excluded from polite debate.

Such a process is even more destructive in faith communities whose local pastoral leaders and national bureaucracies repeatedly use such language and thinking. How can a conscientiously religious person come to a responsible position when that position may be characterized as un-Biblical, racist, or irrational?

My own attempt to remain faithful to Biblical prescriptions predicates the following:

1. Foreigners who are here in this country now should be accorded the respect and decency we owe to all people.
2. People who are genuine refugees and cannot be cared for in proximity to their homes might be temporarily relocated to other countries. The U.S. would accept its fair share until they can safely return home. Their temporary stay makes it possible for other refugees to sojourn here when necessary.
3. Our ethic of caring requires that we do what is necessary to help legal immigrants and legal residents to assimilate and function in U.S. society.
4. Our ethic of caring requires that we not accept such a large number of annual immigrants that 1) the ability of workers to earn a decent living is undermined, 2) the sustainability of the environment is harmed, 3) the best and brightest are drained from their own nations where they can do the most good.
5. We move away from an "America the Best" attitude and respect the future aspirations and identities of other nations. Surely we share the earth in partnership with all nations. It is not "us against them." ■

REFERENCES

"To Love the Sojourner: A United Methodist Response to the United States Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986." United Methodist Committee on Relief, General Board of Global Ministries, the United Methodist Church, 1988.

"Immigrants and Refugees: To Love the Sojourner." A resolution submitted by the General Board of Global Ministries. 1996, Nashville: The United Methodist Publishing House.

"Sojourner." *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 4,* 1962, Nashville: Abingdon Press, p. 397.

The Oxford Dictionary and Language Guide. 1999. Oxford University Press.

Beck, Roy, "'Xenophobia' — Scrabble Winner, Debate Stopper." *The Social Contract*, Vol. II, No. 3, Spring 1992, p. 144-149.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ethnic Factor

Why multiculturalism unravels the cohesive bonds of kinship and undermines vibrant societies

Book Review by Kevin Lamb

Over the past few months, violence has engulfed several multi-ethnic regions across several continents, from Borneo to Macedonia to Zimbabwe. Meanwhile newly released U.S. Census figures reveal a sizable demographic trend in the ethnic transformation of America's population. The census data expose substantial *under*estimates for illegal immigrants who have entered the U.S. since 1990, and provide new evidence for the continued balkanization of major urban areas like New York City, Los Angeles, and Miami. Perhaps even more disturbing, the latest census results show an influx of Hispanic immigrants across America's suburban landscape, with pronounced demographic consequences for the nation's heartland.

The Deadly Ethnic Riot
by Donald L. Horowitz
University of California Press, 2001
588 pages, $35.00

The Ethnic Phenomenon
by Pierre L. van den Berghe
New York: Praeger, 1987
315 pages, $24.95

The critical factor that links these domestic and international trends is *ethnicity*. Several recent front-page articles in the *Washington Post* underscore its significance. One of two below-the-fold stories in the final edition of March 16 proclaims, "Immigration Fueling Big U.S. Cities; N.Y. Population Tops 8 Million, a Record," while the adjacent article declares, "Ethnic Warfare Finds Macedonia; Once-Peaceful Country Drawn Into Regional Conflict." Again, the ethnic dimension is the one factor that connects these two unrelated events. Moreover, another front-page *Washington Post* article *less than a week later* carries the following headline: "The Culture Clash Next Door; Neighborhood Quarrels Take On Ethnic Tint as [Prince George's County] Gains Hispanics." The article highlights the cultural rift in a feuding relationship between an elderly African-American leader of a local civic association and her younger Hispanic neighbor, a recent El Salvadoran immigrant. This particular conflict is reinforced by a set of clashing values, interests, and expectations that expose an ethno-cultural divide in one of Maryland's more ethnically diverse counties.

While multi-ethnic societies continue to unravel around the world, launching new waves of violence, Americans are constantly reassured by "educated" elites that a healthy society is one that is increasingly "diverse" and that their national survival rests upon a multi-ethnic future. Ethnic tribalism continues to fuel much of the violence across Africa, Eastern Europe, and Indonesia. Why should Americans believe that the *source* of these destructive trends abroad — multi-ethnic diversity — is the *solution* to their own future well-being? As Jan and Birgitta S. Tullberg, economists at the University of Stockholm, point out, ethnic conflicts have killed millions "since the end of World War II." Yet some scholars deny that inherited human traits *contribute to* the fatal consequences of clashing ethnic groups.

A few perceptive scholars are beginning to reassess the importance of ethnicity in human endeavors, given the persistence of ethnic conflict. Just what exactly is ethnicity? What societal implications arise from resource competition between ethnic groups? What causes ethnic violence and, in particular, what conditions spark ethnic riots? Are

Kevin Lamb is a library assistant for Newsweek magazine and a frequent contributor to The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

increasingly diverse, multi-ethnic societies inherently unstable?

Two exceptional books, distinct but complementary, scrutinize various aspects of ethnicity. Donald L. Horowitz, James B. Duke Professor of Law and Political Science at Duke University, is the recent author of *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, an encyclopedic panorama that dissects the various stages of an ethnic riot as a distinct form of violence. Pierre L. van den Berghe's *The Ethnic Phenomenon*, first published in 1981 and re-released in 1987 as a paperback, puts forth the sociobiological case that ethnicity is a natural phenomenon — an inherent condition of human nature. By viewing ethnicity through a sociobiological prism, van den Berghe's thesis runs counter to the prevailing anthropological zeitgeist.

"This emerging cross-disciplinary field [of sociobiology] regards kinship, the social ranking of genetic relationships, as the key to understanding altruistic patterns of human behavior."

In order to understand the conditions that propel an ethnic riot, one must first grasp the essentials of ethnicity. Common bonds of language, culture, and race forge the basis for ethnic *differences*. The pioneering research of E. O. Wilson and W. D. Hamilton on the evolutionary origins of human social behavior paved the way for the empirical framework of sociobiology. This emerging cross-disciplinary field regards kinship, the social ranking of genetic relationships, as the key to understanding altruistic patterns of human behavior.

Van den Berghe views ethnicity as an extended form of kinship. Human relationships typically emerge along ethnic lines from mutual ties of language, culture, and race, much like the old cliché of like gravitating to like. The benchmark for reciprocal social interaction is a common set of traits, interests, customs, and values. People interact with and seek out other people much like themselves, often joining clubs and associations like the Elks, Moose Lodge or Lions Clubs for the camaraderie of friendship and goodwill. By the same token, a self-assortment process leads most individuals to seek out communities that are compatible with their own values and interests. These shared experiences more often than not reflect intra-ethnic patterns; that these social bonds and associations generate ethnic solidarity, and to some degree ethnocentrism, is simply not a coincidence.

Again, kinship is the key to understanding this level of human interaction and cooperation; the extent to which people are *genetically* and *culturally* related in terms of a common ancestry. (Some geneticists continue to make untenable claims, primarily on ideological grounds, that inherited human differences, in terms of biological and behavioral traits, are genetically insignificant.) In articulating the sociobiological claim that ethnicity is a stubborn fact of nature, van den Burghe argues that ethnicity is nothing more than a natural division of mankind. As a scholar with progressive views, van den Burghe presents a reasonably objective case that societies would be better off accepting the reality of ethnic *differences* and understand their larger social and political implications than trying to airbrush them out of the picture. In fact, the author devotes most of his book to examining ethnicity's larger social and political contexts and reconsidering the ethnic dimensions of the nation-state, caste societies, class differences, colonialism, slavery, and resource competition.

According to van den Burghe, ethnic group competition often sparks ethnic conflict. He identifies three "mechanisms" — specialization, territoriality, and hierarchy — that massage competition over resources. In terms of resource competition, these broad conditions usually regulate ethnic relations. Politically, multi-ethnic states can vary from autocratic colonialism and imperialism to the collectivism of liberal social democracies. South Africa is an example of a nation-state that implemented a set of ethnocentric laws (apartheid),

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which although ethnically repressive, maintained a given degree of order and continuity for the minority-ruled government. As van den Burghe points out, "Most states that embark on such an official policy of recognizing and entrenching ethnic pluralism are quite fragile."

The flip side of ethnicity, as a natural category of group differences, is that the symbiotic in-group/out-group arrangement can, under certain circumstances, generate between-group animosities. The right combination of factors can produce what Horowitz refers to as the "deadly ethnic riot." Although similar circumstances could trigger other kinds of ethnic violence, lethal ethnic riots are distinct forms of ethnic turmoil. Ethnic rioters specifically target other ethnic groups, typically in vengeful waves of assaults. Furthermore, ethnic rioters usually coordinate and carry out their lethal objectives in carefully orchestrated attacks rather than in randomly inadvertent and spontaneous upheavals. The rioters typically have a reputation for aggression while the window for conducting a violent rampage usually occurs when the threat of reprisal or retaliation is minimal.

Horowitz's magisterial tome covers a vast amount of research on the topic of ethnic rioting, analyzing and dissecting various stages and phases of conditions that culminate in ethnic riots. What emerges, as in the case of van den Burghe's work, is a sobering view that departs from conventional "progressive" theories of ethnicity. Both van den Berghe and Horowitz stress the fact that standard models of ethnicity no longer hold up under empirical scrutiny. Horowitz considers that much of this theorizing has been vacuous and has overlooked the actual sources of ethnic animosity. Perhaps unparalleled in scope, this account is likely be the definitive study for some time.

Examples vary in terms of the magnitude of severity, from the Rwandan massacres of 1994 in which the Hutu majority brutally slaughtered the lives of 800,000 to one million of the rival Tutsi minority, to the recent small-scale ethnic riot that occurred in Seattle on Fat Tuesday, where a predominantly black mob of rioters caused one death, seventy injuries and considerable property damage. Horowitz claims that the West remains relatively free of widespread ethnic rioting, unlike Sri Lanka, Ghana or India, but much of the ethnic violence more common in the West, from "lynchings" to "wilding" episodes, falls outside of Horowitz's ontological analysis. Nevertheless, as the U.S. population begins to reflect the indigenous nature of Third World nations, will "deadly ethnic riots" be far behind?

When it comes to multi-cultural diversity, the ethnic factor goes to the core issue of assimilation — the nationalization process that allows host countries to absorb recent immigrants. The political stability of the nation-state becomes fragile if immigrant groups retain their ethno-cultural homogeneity rather than assimilate into their host countries. By solidifying their group status, usually within a defined geographic region, various ethnic blocks cultivate their group's bargaining influence as political leverage. One problem that confronts an increasingly pluralistic multi-ethnic society involves transfer-of-wealth schemes: How large should the size of the public sector be? What criteria should determine *how* the public pie gets divided? Given the size constraints of the public sector, are increasingly diverse nations, with expanding dissimilar needs, capable of maintaining an orderly tranquil society when additional strains are placed on a limited public sector? Again, the issue of resource competition looms large, for which groups stand to benefit the most from increases in the public sector? The same groups that continue to stagnate relative to per capita income, educational test scores, health benefits, energy, transportation, and child care allowances.

As Garrett Hardin points out, "Whenever a nation commits itself to internal multiculturalism, it is headed for trouble." On the outskirts of suburbia, rural America is witnessing a steady transformation in which the Mosque, Temple, and Hindu Shrine are replacing the rustic "Chew-Mail-Pouch-Tobacco" barns of local farmers as regional landmarks. In north Silver Spring, MD, on Route 29, just a few miles from rural farmland, motorists pass two signs in the southbound lane that proclaim, "Support Justice for Sikhs in India." While the "managerial elite" in the United States insists on radically transforming the national character, the ethnic factor continues to reverberate with warning signs about the future of the glorious "Melting Pot." ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NAFTA and the Politics of Economism

Book Review by John Attarian

Those who love laws and sausages," Bismarck famously remarked, "should not see how they are made." This gripping account of the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993 over widespread popular opposition provides an especially revolting example. Combining thorough research and lucid prose, John MacArthur, president and publisher of *Harper's*, makes it irrefutably clear that economism dominates this country and that America is a government of the people by the manipulators for the pressure groups — especially pressure groups with money.

The Selling of 'Free Trade' — NAFTA, Washington, and the Subversion of American Democracy
by John R. MacArthur
New York: Hill & Wang Publishers
368 pages, $25.00

Although billed as a trade agreement, NAFTA is really about dirt-cheap Mexican labor, MacArthur argues, and he opens with firsthand reporting on the 1999 closing of the Swingline stapler plant in Long Island City and its move to Mexico. Founded in 1925, Swingline had about 1,300 low-wage, low-skill manufacturing jobs by 1980. John Mahoney, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 808, got his union installed there in 1979. Two years later, with most unskilled employees just above minimum wage, he sought a roughly 80 percent wage increase. The manager threatened to move operations to Mexico. Defiantly, Mahoney called a strike. He won a three-year, 50 percent raise and generous benefits.

But meanwhile, MacArthur points out, "the *maquiladora* factory system was already well established." Mexico amended its laws in 1965 to let companies import parts duty-free for assembly in Mexico, provided the assembled goods were exported. America revised its tariffs to apply only to the value added to the American parts — the cost of Mexican labor. With unionized American workers getting median weekly incomes of $635 versus about $29 (1998 dollars) for *maquiladora* workers in the early '80s, this was a bonanza for American companies, and by 1981 there were over 600 *maquiladoras* (1,800 by 1991). In the late '90s, Swingline had healthy profits. But its competitors, Bostich and Hunt Manufacturing, produced more cheaply in Asia. In 1997, without warning, management told Swingline workers that it was "considering" closing the plant.

This led MacArthur to rethink the whole idea of trade. David Ricardo argued that countries would benefit if each produced what it could make most efficiently, and traded for other goods. However, MacArthur notes, Ricardo failed to anticipate international mobility of factors of production or investor willingness to invest overseas to get higher returns. Free trade, then, can hurt high-wage workers.

That being so, getting NAFTA passed entailed a huge propaganda effort, and American media touted Mexico's president Carlos Salinas as an economic genius who in 1990, in an act of visionary statesmanship, proposed a free-trade agreement with America to transform Mexico into an export-led powerhouse. Yet, MacArthur observes, "as late as October 1989, [Salinas] had publicly opposed a free-trade agreement with the United States." Why the about-face? Mexico owed American banks $100 billion, and interest payments on the debt gave Mexico a huge current-account deficit. To finance it, Salinas proposed NAFTA to persuade American lenders and businessmen that Mexico was a safe place to invest.

Investing in Mexico, however, was vulnerable to

John Attarian, Ph.D., *with a doctorate in economics from the University of Michigan, is a freelance writer living in Ann Arbor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexican resentment of *gringo* domination; in 1938 Mexico nationalized its oil industry and expropriated foreign oil owners. "It was just this potential for a Mexican populist backlash that NAFTA was designed to address," MacArthur argues, pointing out that NAFTA has elaborate provisions to safeguard foreign investors from expropriation without full compensation — whereas the Canada-U.S. trade agreement did not. NAFTA's effect, then, is to guarantee American firms access to Mexican labor. "Thus even to call NAFTA a trade agreement betrays the hand of the propagandist."

NAFTA's early players had predictable roles: internationalist, pro-business president George H. W. Bush promoting it, labor and congressional Democrats opposing it. But 1992 presidential candidate Bill Clinton, supposedly a centrist liberal, moved toward Bush's position. Why? MacArthur argues, persuasively, that Clinton warmed to NAFTA to induce business to contribute more heavily to the Democratic Party, which it did in subsequent elections.

Once elected, Clinton took extraordinary steps to get NAFTA passed. On 13 September 1992, Mickey Kantor and other Administration personnel met with Business Roundtable lobbyists to concoct a lobbying strategy for NAFTA. They needed one. Democratic constituencies disliked NAFTA; congressional Republicans wanted it but did not want to do Clinton's dirty work. Key congressional Democrats such as Richard Gephardt were opposed, and Ross Perot, who had predicted that NAFTA would generate "a giant sucking sound" of jobs going to Mexico, was drawing blood with his book *Save Your Job, Save Our Country*. MacArthur's narrative of the push for NAFTA shows just how much our politics are dominated by interest groups, how heavily manipulated the public is, and how vast the gap between the media's version of events and what is really happening.

Clinton feverishly touted NAFTA. It would, he said, "create thousands of high-paying jobs by unlocking access to Mexico — a growing market of ninety million people that thirst for American products and services." (In fact, most Mexicans are too poor to buy their own products, let alone ours.) Other Administration figures dismissed the fear of job loss and argued that Mexicans compete with American labor "through illegal immigration, not trade," and that by creating jobs in Mexico, NAFTA "will keep more Mexicans at home." Clinton personally recruited Lee Iacocca to shill for NAFTA. The Administration and business collaborated to hold a "NAFTA Jobs and Products Day" display on the White House South Lawn to tout free trade's benefits.

Corporate America mounted a huge effort to fabricate a pro-NAFTA climate of opinion. Editorial pages were almost unanimously pro-NAFTA, and columnists churned out pro-NAFTA pieces. The lobbying group USA-NAFTA hired Democratic and Republican organizing firms "to create the illusion of a popular groundswell of support for NAFTA." Telemarketers contacted voters in congressional districts, asked if they supported NAFTA, and if they did, sent them "mailgrams" to send to their congressmen. Besides this phony grassroots support ("Astroturf"), NAFTA supporters also disseminated talking points, sample letters, and such to help executives, plant managers, and others agitate for NAFTA.

On crucial occasions, NAFTA backers lied. To neutralize Perot, Vice President Al Gore debated him on "Larry King Live" and thrashed him. Admittedly, Perot was ill-prepared, but Gore, MacArthur points out, "was fibbing" when he said Mattel and Norm Cohen had plans to shut down Asian and Mexican operations respectively, creating jobs in the U.S. Similarly, when Senator Bill Bradley debated Congressman David Bonior on TV three days before the NAFTA vote, Bradley falsely asserted that Mexico had passed a law linking its minimum wage to productivity.

Just before the vote, Clinton's team ran "the most aggressive vote-buying operation in recent memory." Congressmen representing districts containing industries which NAFTA might hurt received promises of spending, protection from import surges, and more. It worked. In November 1993, NAFTA passed.

NAFTA, MacArthur devastatingly shows, has not justified its promotions. America's trade deficit with Mexico has averaged $15.9 billion a year since 1951, versus an average $3.1 billion *surplus* in 1991-1993. While exports to Mexico did increase enormously, economist Harley Shaiken points out that whereas parts shipped to *maquiladoras* for assembly accounted for 40 percent of exports to Mexico in 1993, their share hit 62 percent in 1996.

While America has created millions of jobs since 1993, manufacturing employment has continued to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

collapse — by 358,000 jobs from September 1998 to July 1999 alone. In many cases, NAFTA was a factor in job loss. The Department of Labor's NAFTA Transitional Adjustment Assistance program certified by the end of 1998 that 211,582 persons had lost their jobs, possibly because of NAFTA. Companies such as General Electric and Springs Industries, which had testified that NAFTA would create new jobs for them, in fact shed many jobs.

Nor has NAFTA reduced illegal immigration by enabling Mexicans to prosper at home. Indeed, MacArthur plausibly argues that NAFTA can be blamed "for actually increasing illegal immigration, or at least increasing the temptation to cross the border." The *maquiladoras*, plus Salinas's agricultural "reforms," have drawn millions of Mexicans to the border cities, where "the promise and proximity of the U.S. minimum wage or something close to it increases the likelihood" of Mexicans coming in.

Yet NAFTA succeeded: It facilitated access to cheap labor. After NAFTA began in January 1994, the *maquiladora* system exploded. While 546,588 Mexicans worked in 2,143 *maquiladoras* in December 1993, in January 1999 over a million worked in 3,143 *maquiladoras*. *The Wall Street Journal* carried advertisements for Collectron, a company that would start *maquiladoras* for firms pursuing NAFTA's opportunities. Posing as an executive, MacArthur attended Collectron's program, where he witnessed American executives' "craving to escape American union pay scales." His visit to the Swingline plant in Nogales was also grimly revealing. *Maquiladora* workers worked long hours for poor pay and lived in shacks. "Labor was so cheap in Nogales that stapler assembly had been *deautomated* [original italics]," being done by hand rather than with the machines he'd seen in the Long Island City plant. (Meanwhile, the now-unemployed American Swingline workers were glumly seeking work.)

MacArthur has written a powerful and convincing corrective to the NAFTA hype. If you know the truth about economism, globalization, and the Brave New World which our ruling elites are dragooning us into, you will find grim confirmation in *The Selling of "Free Trade."* If you still admire Clinton or harbor pleasant delusions that the people run this country and that government and business are enemies, you need to buy it, read it, and get the feathers out of your head.

But remember what Bismarck said, and watch your stomach. ■

Wide Open Gates to the 'Beautiful Country'

Book Review by Wayne Lutton

According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), over 655,000 Chinese legally enter the United States every year. Many come on student or worker visas. No one knows how many remain, either by staying on after their temporary visas expire, or by changing their status. And no one knows how many more Chinese are being smuggled into the U.S. annually.

Ko-lin Chin, a professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University-Newark, has written a detailed account of how Chinese are illegally brought to the U.S. and what happens to them once they arrive. *Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States* is based on extensive primary research, including interviews with approximately 300 Chinese illegal aliens residing here. Readers of *The Social Contract* will be interested in what Professor Chin reveals about flaws in our immigration policies — especially abuse of claims for asylum — and our lax law enforcement.

In the first part of his study, Professor Chin

Wayne Lutton, Ph.D. *is editor of* The Social Contract *and author with John H. Tanton of* The Immigration Invasion. *He writes frequently on immigration and other issues concerning American culture.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

describes how the alien smuggling networks operate. According to Chin most of the Chinese illegals coming to the U.S. are from the northeast coastal area of Fuzhov, a part of the Fujian Province. Among the Chinese, the United States is known as "Meiguo" ("Beautiful Country"). The decision to go to the U.S. is rarely an individual decision. The Chinese view it as important to have a family member in the U.S., as it confers status, additional respect, and economic gain for those left behind thanks to the remittances sent back to China (a new house can be purchased in Fujian for $12,000). Smuggling organizations charge an average of $30,000 to deliver a person to the U.S. This is regarded as a fair price to pay for the potential advantage. A down payment of ten to twenty percent is made through the local recruiter known as "little snakehead." When an individual finally arrives in the U.S., he or she is detained in a "safe house" and a call is placed to China. Generally, family and friends come up with the balance due the smugglers within eleven days.

Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States
by Ko-lin Chin
Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
221 pages, $22.95

An extensive smuggling network routes Chinese illegals through such places as Bangkok, Tokyo, and air hubs in Germany. Others travel by boat to Belize, Bolivia, Peru, and Panama, and then on to Mexico. Canada is another major transit point. From Mexico or Canada, they simply walk into the U.S.

The Chinese illegals interviewed by Professor Chin make it clear that the U.S. is an "Open Gate." There are few obstacles to entry. The overland route via Mexico or Canada is the most reliable way to enter. The INS intercepted only eleven percent of those who crossed into the U.S. from Mexico or Canada, and they were not sent home. The INS lacks space to detain more than a few people. The threat of detention is no deterrent. One male from Tingjiang related his experience after being caught by the INS: "While we were confined at a detention center, we ate and lived well. We were provided with fresh milk, vegetables, and fruits. We had separate beds, and the rooms had wall-to-wall carpeting. They treated us well. They were not discriminative. You can say that the detention center was like a hotel." Chin confirms that,

> *My data strongly suggests that once these immigrants were on a plane bound for the United States, they could count on staying in the country. Many of them who had been coached by their snakeheads managed to exploit lax U.S. travel regulations and sought political asylum fraudulently. The ease of international travel, coupled with the snakeheads' ability to bribe airport and immigration officials in almost all of the transit countries, enabled these Chinese illegals to travel relatively freely.*

The final destination for most illegal Chinese is the New York City area, with others remaining in California. They are mainly employed in food, garment (over six hundred garment factories operate in NYC's Chinatown), and construction businesses. Wages and working conditions are poor by U.S. standards, but very high compared with what they might earn even in professional positions back in China. Former farmers from Fujian reported that they earned $28 a year at home. Teacher's said they were paid $12 a month. Life may be dreary and dangerous for those involved in the underground economy, but all told, a day's wages in the U.S. is often the equivalent of half a year's salary in China. The opportunity to earn vastly better wages is the major incentive for migrating to the U.S.

In his concluding section, "Stemming the Tide," Professor Chin makes some sensible recommendations. Chief among these are prompt deportation of illegals and reforming asylum laws to prevent abuses. The INS and the Labor Department should be given additional resources to enforce employer sanctions and labor standards. If decisive action is not taken, Professor Chin warns that the "Chinese human trade has the potential to grow even worse." ■

[See the extensive quote from Douglas Massey's Foreword to *Smuggled Chinese* on the facing page.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Challenge of Chinese Immigration

The current era of mass migration constitutes a sharp break with the past. No longer dominated by outflows from Europe to a handful of former colonies, immigration is now truly a global phenomenon.

Contemporary international migration originates in the social, economic, political, and cultural transformations that accompany the penetration of markets into non-market or pre-market societies. In the context of a globalizing economy, the entry of markets into peripheral regions disrupts existing social and economic arrangements and brings about the displacement of people from customary livelihoods, creating mobile populations of workers who actively search for new ways of earning income, managing risk, and acquiring capital. International migration does not stem from a *lack* of economic development, but from development itself.

While the early phases of economic development in poor nations promote emigration, post-industrial transformations in wealthy nations yield a bifurcation of labor markets...those in the secondary labor market offer low pay, little stability, and few opportunities, thus repelling natives and generating a structural demand for immigrants. This process of labor market bifurcation is most acute in global cities such as Los Angeles and New York, where a concentration of managerial, administrative, and technical expertise leads to a concentration of wealth and a strong ancillary demand for low-wage services.

...The same processes of economic globalization that create mobile populations in developing regions and generate a demand for their services in global cities also create links of transportation, communications, politics, and culture to make the international movement of people cheap and easy.

However an immigration stream begins, it displays a strong tendency to continue because of the growth and elaboration of migrant networks. The concentration of immigrants in certain destination areas creates a "family and friends" effect that channels later cohorts of immigrants to the same places and facilitates their arrival and incorporation. If enough migrants arrive under the right conditions, an enclave economy may form, which further augments the specialized demand for immigrant workers.

The spread of migratory behavior within sending communities sets off ancillary structural changes, shifting distributions of income and land and modifying local cultures in ways that promote additional out-migration. Over time, the process of network expansion tends to become self-perpetuating because each act of migration causes social and economic changes that promote additional international movement...None of the conditions known to play a role in initiating migratory flows — wage differentials, market failures, segmentation of labor markets, the globalization of the economy — is likely to moderate anytime soon; and once begun, the forces that perpetuate international movement — social network formation, the emergence of global transportation and communication infrastructures, and other processes of cumulative causation — ensure that it will continue into the foreseeable future.

Although migratory flows to the United States are now largest for countries in Latin America, the latent potential for immigration is greatest in Asia, where the forces that initiate and sustain international migration have only begun to operate. The potential for Chinese immigration alone is enormous. Even a small rate of emigration, when applied to a population of more than a billion people, can be expected to produce a flow of immigrants dwarfing that now observed from Mexico...China's rapid growth and headlong movement into the global market contain seeds of an enormous future migration. Social networks linking China and developed nations overseas are now being formed and in the future will serve as the basis for an even larger movement of population. Immigration from China and other populous, rapidly developing nations in Asia has an unrecognized latent potential to transform world migration flows and to shape the racial and ethnic composition of developed nations in the next century. No topic could be more important as we move into the new millennium.

— Douglas S. Massey, Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, from his Foreword to *Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States* by Ko-Lin Chin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stay Home and Prosper

Micro-lending can help the poor in their own countries

Book Review by Brenda Walker

The idea of immigration to America as a way for the poor to improve their lives remains a powerful icon. Many liberals in particular remain mesmerized by this sentimental bit of patriotic mythology, bathed in a fuzzy glow radiating from Ellis Island. They seem little dissuaded by unkind reality, namely the many current, visible symptoms of American overpopulation — sprawl, resource shortages, school overcrowding, and pavement everywhere. Immigration romantics instead focus on the emotional appeal of the Land of Opportunity, where hard work and a little luck will lead to success.

Liberal advocacy for continued high levels of immigration springs at least partially from a misplaced missionary urge to rescue, presumably based on the arrogant and racist supposition that those backward societies can never improve themselves. The huddled masses must instead be saved by relocation to the obviously superior America, which offers an array of services and opportunities that could never exist in countries run by darker peoples, according to the evident assumptions.

Immigration can make susceptible Americans feel exceptional and generous while fulfilling the still-vibrant bootstraps myth of Horatio Alger, immigrant version. In an earlier century, Europeans bore the "white man's burden" to "civilize" the benighted cultures under their colonial control; now a version of this twisted and dubious responsibility has been morphed into the "nation of immigrants" myth, implying that endless millions must be welcomed. Of course, the elitist psychological underpinnings of the immigration-as-rescue scenario are never examined by the people who accuse immigration restrictionists of being racist.

Clearly the rescuer has a more powerful position compared to the one being rescued. But what if there were an effective self-help strategy that proved the poor did not need to be rescued through immigration and that avoided all of its negative social effects? What if the poor could successfully uplift themselves in their own societies using the hard-scrabble skills they already possess? What if women were successfully empowered with financial responsibility in societies in which they had formerly been little more than slaves?

What if the key were not charity, but capital?

Banker to the Poor
by Muhammad Yunus
London Bridge
trade paperback
288 pages, $24.00

The Grameen Bank

The success story of microloans has been described by many accounts in the print media and in a memorable segment on *Sixty Minutes* in 1990. In *Banker to the Poor* Muhammad Yunus, the inventor of microloans, tells how a small loan from his own pocket to a painfully poor Bangladeshi woman grew into a program and philosophy that has expanded and been adapted around the world in a diversity of societies from Southeast Asia to Chicago. Mr. Yunus is a native of Bangladesh who studied in the U.S. under a Fulbright scholarship and received a Ph.D. in economics from Vanderbilt University.

It started simply enough when Dr. Yunus returned to Bangladesh after his education in America. He was troubled by the crushing destitution all around him and how little his academic economic theories seemed to grapple with poverty. He determined that he would learn more about the poor by actually observing their conditions and talking with them. He met a young woman in a nearby village who made stools out of bamboo. She was so poor that she had to borrow money daily from gouging money lenders simply to purchase her materials. As a result of the exorbitant rate of interest,

Brenda Walker *lives in the San Francisco Bay Area and edits the website www.LimitsToGrowth.org.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

she made barely enough money to survive even though she worked long hours at making stools. Yunus realized that a few dollars in credit would vastly improve the woman's life by enabling her to make a fair return on her labors by escaping the usury of the local money lenders. He loaned her the money and then discovered that there were around forty other women in the village in the same financial position. He loaned them a total of twenty-seven dollars. At that point, the idea began to grow from an out-

"...There are two million borrowers worldwide, and the repayment rate is above ninety-eight percent. The program has shown remarkable flexibility in how it has been successfully adapted across cultures."

of- pocket loan to a small lending institution, later called the Grameen Bank. ("Grameen" means village or rural.)

Today, there are two million borrowers worldwide, and the repayment rate is above 98 percent. The program has shown remarkable flexibility in how it has been successfully adapted across cultures. Nearly all of the borrowers are women (96 percent). Typically, a woman might use her loan to purchase a simple handcart to start a delivery business, or perhaps to buy a cow or a goat. For a time, the Grameen Bank tried to divide the loans up evenly between men and women, but the women were found to deal more responsibly with the debt and to share the benefits throughout the family.

Borrowers do follow some general guidelines, including a group structure for local borrowers. Members of a village loan association are required to meet regularly, and no one in the group can get an additional loan until everyone has paid back the previous one, so there is a powerful incentive for solidarity and support. The loan system is structured to be a part of the community and to prevent failure, with small repayments scheduled often, in some cases daily. Strategies like these help everyone to keep current. Regular contact means no one is left alone to get behind in payments because problems are handled early, before they become difficult. The camaraderie and communication encourage the women that they can indeed accomplish this new endeavor.

In Bangladesh, the standard pledge borrowers must make is socially revolutionary. The women must promise to limit the size of their families, grow vegetables, drink only clean water, and not take part in any dowry practices (the source of much violence against women in the society). "Women's empowerment" is a phrase that has been overused, but in this case the term is entirely appropriate — in becoming a valued wage-earner in the family, a woman's social standing and control over her fate are increased.

Something for Everyone

Microlending is a strategy that ought to be welcomed by all political persuasions. Conservatives should appreciate that microloans take little or no government involvement and become self-supporting in a very short time; they act as banks, after all. Liberals, in turn, like a program that actually improves the lot of the hardcore poor. Feminists appreciate women's empowerment in cultures where women for centuries have been subjugated by customs like purdah — severe veiling for traveling in public. For environmentalists, the emphasis on small-scale development is a welcome change from the large, often ecologically destructive engineering projects that the World Bank has long promoted.

In addition, the organizational structure promotes local democratic involvement. Women involved in microloans often vote and run for public office themselves in higher percentages. In countries like Bangladesh, this civic involvement is a far cry from the lives of their mothers, who may never have left their home compounds in their lifetimes.

What is most revolutionary about Professor Yunus' ideas is his attitude toward the poor. He regards their survival in very difficult circumstances as proof that they are smart enough to do better, if only they are given a little working capital. He rejects the idea of many do-gooder organizations that the poor must be remade by some specialized job training — supplied by those same organizations, naturally. Not that the poor don't need basic assistance, since some cannot read or use numbers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well enough to keep track of their simple bookkeeping. But the emphasis is on moving the process forward. It is the embodiment of the maxim about teach a person to fish and there will be a lifetime of food.

Yunus truly believes that poverty is not a necessary part of society; he has commented that poverty should be allowed to exist "only in museums." He says rather offhandedly, "In Bangladesh, there is no reason why people should remain poor." It is a remarkable statement about one of the world's economic basket cases, yet it shows his total belief that appropriate programs like microlending can transform societies. The author has a rare, realistic optimism about bettering the human condition through intelligent self-help. In his visionary economics, he has moved beyond the patronizing attitude of the educated toward the unlettered. He resists the colonial position of "we know what's good for you" and keeps the institutional intrusion minimal.

His revolutionary thinking has made Professor Yunus a target for many. Bangladeshi leftists accused him of conspiring to plant capitalism among the masses and thereby sap their energy to throw off the chains of oppression. Muslim clerics denounced him for undermining culture and religion, particularly by his message of empowerment for women. Government officials regarded him as a troublemaker invading their turf. But in the end, the solid record of success has quieted those voices.

Think Globally

Immigration enthusiasts who are fired by the missionary impulse to save the downtrodden of the world are using a fly swatter against an elephant. There are literally billions of poor on this planet who might theoretically be better off in the United States — but such an overload would swamp and sink the lifeboat. The sensible, humanitarian thing is to help the poor where they live. Microlending is also enormously cheaper: The Office of Migration and Refugee Services of the Catholic Church states that it costs "only" $2000 to resettle an individual in the United States — an amount that could supply loans for an entire village in Bangladesh.

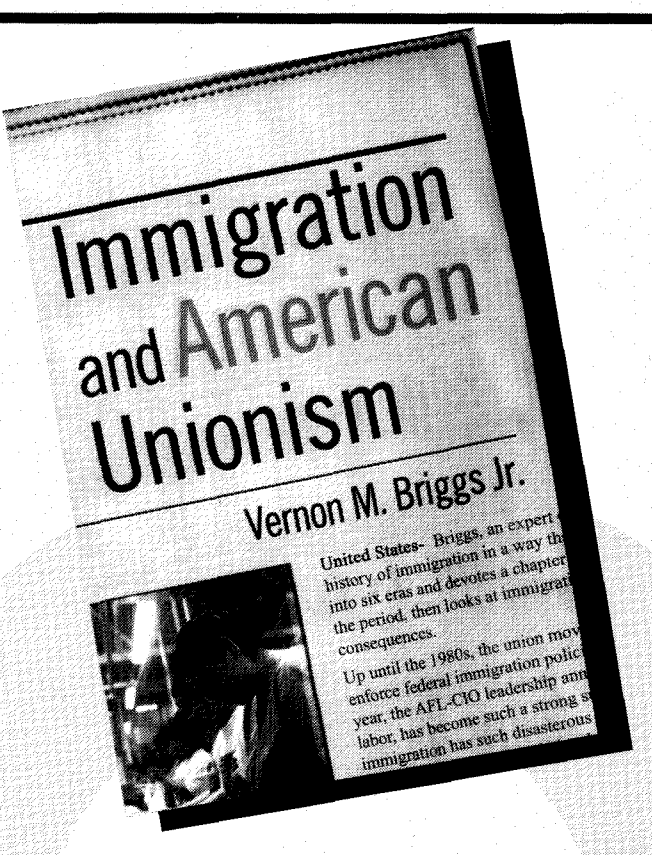
Another advantage to people remaining in their home countries is avoiding the culture shock that inevitably follows emigration from the Third World to the First. It is very stressful on families to relocate to a significantly different culture. Mature adults generally cling to the old customs as much as possible while young children easily soak up the new ways like sponges. Unhappy generation gaps often occur, particularly when those generations speak different languages. Young people are pressured to follow traditional practices that may have little meaning for them. They may join gangs of other young people in similar circumstances — kids caught between two cultures without feeling completely part of either. Violence and other forms of family dysfunction can be another result. How much better to foster a successful economic program that causes none of these problems.

The assumption of American immigration enthusiasts that everyone on the planet deeply yearns to live in the United States is an arrogant and dangerous conceit. Everyone does desire adequate food, housing, and other necessities of life in a safe environment that includes personal and political freedom as well as cultural continuity. Professor Yunus has addressed these basic needs by creating an effective strategy that can help more people for less money and with minimal social stresses.

Microloans give immigration restrictionists an answer when they are accused of wanting to pull up the drawbridge. They can instead offer a positive message by pointing out that microlending is superior to immigration in every respect when improving the lives of the poor is the objective. It costs less per person helped, is kinder to the earth, improves the social standing of women, causes minimal family conflict, and strengthens local democracy. The program is known by legislators, but the connection has not been made that microloans are a better alternative to immigration, which is now having many destructive consequences in the United States. It is hard to make limitation sound positive even when it truly is the greater good. But microlending does indeed offer an upbeat story of empowerment and success. In addition to saying they are "against" mass immigration, reformers can say they are "for" effective self-help in the form of microlending. "Stay home and build a better life" should be the message. ■

[*The Grameen Bank online contains general information and news about microlending around the world:* http://www.grameen-info.org/.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Immigration and American Unionism

VERNON M. BRIGGS JR.

In the year 2000 the AFL-CIO announced a historic change in its position on immigration. The federation declared that it would no longer press to reduce high immigration levels or call for rigorous enforcement of immigration laws. Instead, it now supports the repeal of sanctions imposed against employers who hire illegal immigrants as well as a general amnesty for most such workers. In this timely book, Vernon M. Briggs Jr., challenges labor's recent about-face, charting the disastrous effects that immigration has had on union membership over the course of U.S. history.

Briggs argues convincingly that the labor movement cannot be revived unless the following steps are taken: immigration levels are reduced, admission categories changed, labor law reformed, and the enforcement of labor protection standards at the worksite enhanced.

"While unions in Europe have favored immigrants for some time, those in the United States have traditionally opposed increased immigration. This useful and engaging book is a strong work on the shared history of unions and immigration."—B. Lindsay Lowell, Director of Research, Institute for the Study of International Migration

"[A] timely examination of one of the major public policy issues of the day."—Philip Martin, University of California, Davis

An ILR Press Book
Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations #33
24 tables, 1 chart
$37.50 cloth, $16.95 paper

Cornell University Press

Sage House 512 East State Street, Ithaca, New York 14850
At bookstores, or call (607) 277-2211 • www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED